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Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETINGS

HELD IN

1854, 1855, & 1856;

WITH THE

TREASURER'S REPORTS AND GENERAL AGENT'S ANNUAL STATEMENTS.

BOSTON:
OFFICE OF MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
No. 21 CORNHILL.
1856.

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1856.

Note. — This pamphlet is issued as a continuation of the History of the Society. Its series of Annual Reports, which were brought down to January, 1853, are now continued by the American Anti-Slavery Society.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY PRENTISS AND SAWYER,
No. 19 Water Street.

Dr. **The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in account with Samuel Philbrick, Treasurer.** **Cr.**

Receipts into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from January 1, 1853, to January 1, 1854.

Balance in Treasury on the first of January, 1853,	$ 323 62
Received from proceeds of Anti-Slavery Bazaar, Boston,	3,160 72
" " " " Fair, Worcester,	350 00
" " Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, at sundry times,	21 00
" " Reading " "	15 00
" " Essex County " " at sundry times,	32 00
" " West Brookfield " "	50 00
" " Middlesex Co. " "	7 00
" " Worcester Co. South Anti-Slavery Society, at sundry times,	68 43
" " Stoneham Female " "	4 00
" " Hingham " "	5 00
" " Worcester County North " "	30 00
" " Weymouth Female " "	100 00
" " West Brookfield Female " "	6 67
" " Ladies' Society at Hyannis,	5 00
" " Friends in Abington,	140 00
" " Women of East Abington,	40 15
" " Collections at Annual Meeting,	541 79
" " " N. E. Convention,	473 48
" " " on Fourth of July celebration at Abington,	58 97
" " " First of August celebration at Framingham,	61 86
" " individual donations, pledges, and subscriptions, and from collections by Agents at public meetings and of individuals, as published monthly in the *Liberator*,	2,426 13
Total amount of receipts,	$ 7,920 82

The Disbursements, during the same period, have been as follows, viz:—

To Parker Pillsbury, for his services and expenses as Agent,	$ 470 41
" Lucy Stone, for her " " " "	28 05
" Rent of Office and taxes,	267 29
" Samuel May, Jr., General Agent, for services,	749 99
" " " " for expenses as Agent,	38 93
" Lewis Ford, for services,	4 00
" Daniel Foster, for services and expenses as Agent,	260 12
" Robert F. Wallcut, for services in office,	492 84
" C. L. Remond, for services as Agent,	19 48
" Sallie Holley, for services and expenses as Agent,	338 50
" G. B. Stebbins, " " " "	147 27
" A. T. Foss, " " " "	52 77
" Treasurer American Anti-Slavery Society,	3,460 72
" Expenses of Annual Meeting in Boston, including Reporting,	217 48
" " New England Convention, in Boston,	96 11
" Reporting Speeches at " "	50 00
" Expenses of Fourth of July celebration, at Abington,	34 33
" " First of August " Framingham,	51 58
" Fifty copies of *Liberator* sent members of Congress,	32 50
" Stephen S. Foster, for services and expenses as Agent,	128 64
" J. J. Locke, " " " "	38 39
" Printing Annual Report and other publications,	187 00
Total expenditures,	$ 7,166 38
Leaving balance in Treasury, January 1,	754 44
E. E.	$ 7,920 82

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, TREASURER.

BROOKLINE, January 3, 1854.

BOSTON, January 9, 1854.

I have examined the foregoing account of the Treasurer, and find it correct and properly vouched. EDMUND JACKSON, AUDITOR.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Andrew Robeson, New Bedford.
Edmund Quincy, Dedham.
Adin Ballou, Milford.
John M. Fisk, West Brookfield.
Joshua T. Everett, Princeton.
Effingham L. Capron, Worcester.
Jefferson Church, Springfield.
Oliver Gardner, Nantucket.
Henry I. Bowditch, Boston.
Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield.
Caroline Weston, Weymouth.
Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg.
George Miles, Westminster.
James N. Buffum, Lynn.
Cyrus Peirce, Newton.
John T. Hilton, Brighton.
Thomas T. Stone, Bolton.
Bourne Spooner, Plymouth.
William Ashby, Newburyport.
John Bailey, Lynn.
Charles F. Hovey, Boston.
John S. Stafford, Cummington.
James Russell Lowell, Cambridge.
Richard Clap, Dorchester.
William Whiting, Concord.
A. A. Bent, Gardner.
Ezekiel Thatcher, Barnstable.
David P. Harmon, Haverhill.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Leicester.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston.

TREASURER.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

AUDITOR.

EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

COUNSELLORS.

William Lloyd Garrison.
Edmund Quincy.
Wendell Phillips.
Maria Weston Chapman.
John Rogers.
Cornelius Bramhall.
Anne W. Weston.
Eliza Lee Follen.
John M. Spear.
Charles K. Whipple.
William I. Bowditch.
John T. Sargent.

PROCEEDINGS.

Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, 1854.

The Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston, at the Melodeon, on Wednesday, January 25, and by adjournment, on the 26th and 27th.

The Society was called to order by Francis Jackson, the President, at 10½ o'clock, A. M., of Wednesday.

The following persons were nominated and chosen a Committee to report the usual Committees, together with Assistant Secretaries of the meeting:—

Daniel S. Whitney, of Southboro'; Dr. J. H. York, of Boston; E. A. Stockman, of Cummington; Alvan Howes, of Barnstable; John Jones, of Roxbury.

This Committee unanimously reported as follows:—

Business Committee — William Lloyd Garrison, Edmund Quincy, Wendell Phillips, Anne W. Weston, Andrew T. Foss, Joseph Barker, E. A. Stockman, C. L. Remond, C. C. Burleigh, Henry C. Wright, Dora M. Taft.

Finance Committee — Lewis Ford, of Abington; James N. Buffum, of Lynn; Elbridge Sprague, of Abington; Reuben H. Ober, of Boston.

Assistant Secretaries — Samuel May, Jr., of Leicester; Eliza J. Kenny, of Salem.

Their report was accepted, and the persons named duly elected.

The Treasurer of the Society being detained from the meeting on account of ill health, his Annual Report of the Finances was read by Mr. May, one of the Secretaries; — also the Certificate of the Auditor, Mr. Edmund Jackson, to the correctness of the Treasurer's accounts. Balance in Treasury, January 1, 1854, $754.44; of which $350 was due, and has since been paid, to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Voted, unanimously, that the Treasurer's Report be accepted, and published with the minutes.

Opportunity for vocal or silent prayer was given by the President.

Portions of an Annual Statement of the operations of the Society were

then read by Mr. MAY, the General Agent of the Society. The Statement included an historical view of the working of the Fugitive Slave Law, and of the Victims and Sufferers from that cruel enactment.

On motion of H. C. WRIGHT, seconded by JOSEPH BARKER, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, and EDMUND JACKSON were made a Committee upon the publication of the facts and statements collected by Mr. MAY, respecting the Fugitive Law.

HENRY C. WRIGHT offered the following resolutions, and spoke briefly in defence of them : —

Resolved, That Slavery is a denial of the self-evident facts of human existence, and therefore is a wrong which no being, book, creed, constitution, law, nor circumstance, can make right.

Resolved, That we reject the authority of all books, creeds, constitutions, laws, and commands, by whomsoever written or adopted, which assert the rightfulness or expediency of Slavery.

Resolved, That we deny the existence, and repudiate the worship of any being as God, that justifies the existence and perpetuity of Slavery.

JOSEPH BARKER, of Ohio, spoke eloquently of the great Sin of Slavery, and the extraordinary inconsistency of the American people in sustaining it.

Mr. GARRISON read, from a Virginia paper, a ludicrously spiteful article, levelled at Massachusetts in general, and at the city of New Bedford in particular, on account of the fugitive Slaves said to be residing there, and also on account of the signal failure which certain Slave-hunters from Virginia had recently experienced, in an attempt to find and seize several fugitive Slaves from that State, who were understood to be in New Bedford, but who were nowhere to be found by the U. S. Marshal and his men, who went thither from Boston on that *honorable* (!) errand.

Adjourned to quarter before 3, P. M.

AFTERNOON. The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

No resolution or business being as yet reported by the Committee, HENRY C. WRIGHT again read the resolutions offered by him in the morning.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr. objected to the phraseology of Mr. WRIGHT's resolutions, and expressed the hope that they might be modified, so as to avoid the introduction here of topics simply theological, and to avoid also unnecessary misunderstanding and misrepresentation of our objects, as an Anti-Slavery Society.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH also thought that Mr. WRIGHT's resolutions were theological in their character, and liable to be misunderstood. He moved their reference to the Business Committee, with instructions to report them in a form affirming that the great Creator and Ruler of the Universe, whom we know as GOD, does, in his very nature, and in all the manifestations he has made of himself to men, forever abhor and condemn slavery, and all the outrages and cruelties it inflicts upon men. The motion was seconded by Mr. MAY, and by others, simultaneously, and the resolutions were referred accordingly, without dissent.

C. C. Burleigh, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolution: —

Resolved, That all the signs of the time portend a strong effort, on the part of the Slave Power, to monopolize the functions and control the policy of the government still more entirely than in times past — in trampling under foot the Missouri Compromise as to the Nebraska Territory — in the acquisition of fresh Slave territory in the Mesilla valley — in obtaining the sanction of the Supreme Court for the presence of Slaveholders with their Slaves in the free States — and in re-opening the Slave trade by granting compensation to the pirates in the Amistad case.

Joseph Barker briefly expressed his idea of the necessity of clear, intelligent, and correct views of the true relation of the Bible to the prevailing wrongs and crimes of the age. He did not feel sure that it was right to discuss these topics here; but, either here or elsewhere, men must discuss them, and abolitionists especially are bound to do it.

Mr. Barker then spoke at length, and with much effect, of the various ideas entertained in different ages with regard to Slavery — of the policy and plans of American Slaveholders and their allies at the present time — and of the hopeful prospects of the cause of Liberty.

C. C. Burleigh, in an eloquent speech, sustained the resolution he had reported.

It was announced that, at the evening sessions, the small admission-fee of five cents would be taken at the door.

Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

Evening. The President in the Chair.

The following series of resolutions, from the Business Committee, were reported, and taken up for discussion: —

Whereas, In the second number of his paper, *The Citizen*, in an article sneering at James Haughton, one of the most active and meritorious philanthropists of Ireland, John Mitchel, the Irish fugitive from British power, the mock rebel and self-elected champion of Irish liberty, unblushingly declares — "We deny that it is a crime, or a wrong, or even a peccadillo, to hold Slaves, to buy Slaves, to sell Slaves, to keep Slaves to their work, by flogging or other needful coercion" — adding, "We, for our part, wish we had a good plantation well stocked with healthy negroes, in Alabama" — therefore,

Resolved, That John Mitchel has revealed himself to be a braggart patriot, and a thoroughly unprincipled man, utterly recreant to all his professions of liberty, a "patriotic" wolf in sheep's clothing, a Slave-driver in spirit, and deserving the execrations of the friends of impartial liberty throughout the world.

Resolved, That it is fortunate for Ireland, that this hollow patriot did not succeed in his supremely selfish purposes, while assuming to seek her deliverance from British misrule, and equally fortunate that he was banished as a felon, to Van Dieman's Land, on account of his murderous machinations; while his presence here is to be regarded as a curse to the soil on which he treads, and poison to the atmosphere which he inhales.

Resolved, That the base apostacy of John Mitchel makes the memory of the great and lamented O'Connell all the more dear to us, for spurning the

blood-stained money which was sent from this country to the Repeal Association, to silence his voice on the subject of American Slavery, and nobly exclaiming, "I do n't care for the consequences! I will not restrain my honest indignation of feeling. I pronounce every man a faithless miscreant, who does not take a part for the abolition of Slavery. Come what may, I will never countenance Slavery at home or abroad. Though it should be a blow against Ireland, it is a blow in favor of human liberty, and I will strike that blow. Let them blame me in America — let me be execrated by them — still, Slavery, I denounce you wherever you are! Come freedom, come oppression to Ireland — let Ireland be as she may — I will have my conscience clear before my God. I am bound not to look to consequences, but to justice and humanity — though the liberty of Ireland, the repeal of the Union itself, are to abide the result. Wherever tyranny exists, I am the foe of the tyrant; wherever oppression shows itself, I am the foe of the oppressor; wherever Slavery rears its head, I am the enemy of the system, or the institution, call it by what name you will I am the friend of liberty in every clime, class, and color — my sympathy with distress is not confined within the narrow bound of my own green island. No! It extends itself to every corner of the earth. My heart walks abroad, and wherever the miserable is to be succored, and the Slave is to be set free, there my spirit is at home, and I delight to dwell in its abode."

The floor was first taken by HENRY KEMP, of Boston, a native of Ireland. He reviewed the conduct of JOHN MITCHEL and his "Young Ireland" friends, during the time of the Repeal contest in Ireland, and said, that for himself he had never been able to explain JOHN MITCHEL'S conduct at that time, in any other way than by supposing him a tool and spy of the British Government. It is no new thing, said Mr. K., to put down a popular movement in Ireland by employing so-called *patriots* as spies. And, further, said Mr. K., when I found that MITCHEL, though banished by the English government to Australia, was treated on the passage thither with the greatest attention by the government officials, attended by servants, dining with the captain, and in all respects treated in a manner most unusual for a felon: — and when I found him living in Van Dieman's Land a life of leisure, riding about the country, and after a time so easily breaking away from his confinement, and escaping to this country, I was led more than ever to suspect that the English government winked at his movement, and that he was thus paid for services rendered. Mr. KEMP denounced JOHN MITCHEL as a traitor, in most indignant terms; he said he had long believed, and now he was sure, that there is not a more unprincipled man living than JOHN MITCHEL.

I have spoken thus here, said Mr. KEMP, because, though poverty compelled me to leave Ireland, I love her still; and because I want to do something to save her from the disgrace which such men as MITCHEL, and M'GEE, and others of that school, have brought upon her. I am an Irish abolitionist. I do not hold to freedom for myself and my countrymen, and go for the slavery of the colored man, or any man. And I do not believe, either, that there is anything in the nature of Irishmen to make them love slavery, and hate liberty. They are mis-taught; they are deceived and prejudiced, by selfish and designing men, against the abolitionists and their cause, and are kept away carefully from the anti-slavery meetings; and they are ignorant of the nature and character of the cause. Mr. K. (himself a Catholic,) also

spoke of their religion, as being employed as an instrument of tyranny over their minds and conduct. (Mr. K. took his seat, amidst much applause.)

Joseph Barker, of Ohio, (but a native of England, and only recently from that country,) began with quoting John Mitchel's infamous sentiments respecting Slavery, as lately put forth by him in his new paper. He then passed to Mitchel's insulting attack upon James Haughton, of Dublin, a well-known merchant and active philanthropist of that city, — a man whom John Mitchel, even in his scurrilous article, is obliged to acknowledge to be a worthy man. Mr. Haughton was a friend to Mitchel and to Meagher in Ireland, and it was very natural that he should write to them, on their arrival in this country, and express his hope that they would speak out boldly against oppression and slavery here, as they had done in Ireland against British oppression. John Mitchel's attack upon Mr. Haughton is, therefore, mean and ungrateful, as well as wholly unwarranted by facts. For Mr. Haughton is truly worthy of respect, as a generous friend to every benevolent cause, and the charges and insinuations of Mitchel against him are calumnious and vile to the last degree. Once, said Mr. Barker, I was a friend to John Mitchel, and, through my paper, *The People*, I defended him, and advocated the movement against the English government in which he was engaged. I am deeply sorry now, that I ever identified myself with him; for he has shown himself a dishonest and false man. I did not then distrust his heart, nor doubt his sincerity and absolute devotion to Ireland; though I did wonder at many of his acts, which appeared to me extremely foolish. But now, I see and understand him differently; and I believe that he was a knave and a traitor in Ireland then, as I know he is a sycophant and traitor in America now. He has disgraced his country, and, so far as he can, he has disgraced his friends. But some of his former friends will not be disgraced by him, but will speak out against every form of Slavery, all the more loudly for his recreancy. Mr. Barker closed with reading an article which he had written, and which was published in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, on first seeing Mitchel's infamous avowal of his desire to be a Slaveholder. The article has appeared in the Anti-Slavery journals generally. Though exceedingly severe and condemnatory of Mr. Mitchel, few, if any, will say it is a whit more so than the case justifies. (Mr. Barker's remarks were warmly applauded.)

W. Symington Brown, formerly of Scotland, said he arose to perform, in the words of another, "a disagreeable duty." I did not, he said, come to this meeting with any design to speak. But as you have been addressed, on this painful subject, first by an Irishman, and next by an Englishman, I have thought a few words from a *Scotchman* would not be ill-timed or inappropriate. I too, Sir, when at home, was a friend to John Mitchel, and in a little paper which I published at Glasgow, I defended him, and I justified his position, with the exception of his zealous desire for a violent and bloody struggle, and his wish to use vitriol and other like weapons against the English soldiery. For so defending him, I suffered prosecution and imprisonment. Still, however, I adhered to him, and I kept his portrait hanging

in my humble dwelling, side by side with that of my Lord and Saviour. But when I read, the other day, his vile and hateful sentiments on American Slavery, I tore down his picture from my walls, (bursts of applause,) and I cast it from me, as I have cast forever his image from my heart. (Prolonged cheering.)

JOHN C. CLUER, also a native of Scotland, expressed his indignant feelings against the traitor MITCHEL. He adduced several facts to show the falsehood of his statements about Mr. HAUGHTON, and the ingratitude of his heart. Mr. CLUER mentioned instances in which *colored men* had stood, nobly and firmly, with and by JOHN MITCHEL, in his struggle against England, and had suffered banishment for it. Now, JOHN MITCHEL wants a plantation in Alabama, well stocked with the brothers of these his old friends and faithful companions! The villain! (Applause.)

HENRY KEMP said a few words to defend himself against a charge of inconsistency in having once contributed money to aid the Young Ireland movement.

JOSEPH BARKER said that, when he spoke in praise of this country's institutions, he always excepted the treatment of the colored people, and the infernal system of Slavery.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND, of Salem, came forward. He said it was not needful to add anything to the rebukes which had been so powerfully and eloquently administered to-night to JOHN MITCHEL. The most scorching rebuke of him came, indeed, from his own land, — in every effort for freedom of her true sons, in the rich, free gifts of her daughters, to help the Anti-Slavery cause here. Mr. R. testified to the falsehood of MITCHEL's charges against Mr. HAUGHTON. And he branded the man as a *rascal*, who could come to this country, fresh from his denunciation of British tyranny, and wish to *enslave* the native born negroes on our soil. (Great applause.)

WENDELL PHILLIPS said he had been asked to say something about JOHN MITCHEL. But he had looked carefully about, and he could n't see that anything was left of him. He must say that JOHN MITCHEL gave, in his own case, the strongest proof that ever had come to his knowledge, of British tyranny; for it had utterly crushed the life out of one whom it had recognized as worthy of its persecution, and had sent him to us, the poorest and meanest Slave he had ever heard of. (Great applause.)

Mr. PHILLIPS proceeded to glance at the present fearful position of this nation; our vast unsettled territory proposed to be *opened* to Slavery; the Missouri Compromise Line designed to be swept away; the vast Mesilla Valley bought, to make new Slave states; and Congress proposing to pay, for the Amistad negroes, a large sum of money to their lawless and piratical kidnappers! In these circumstances, where are the popular leaders? Who is asserting and defending the cause of liberty? Mr. DOUGLASS has made his offer for the Presidency. Mr. EVERETT waits awhile before he makes his. The Abolitionists must re-commence their labors, and do again their first works, — proclaim the old first principle of their movement, and kindle anew the fires of freedom in the hearts of the people. (Mr. P.'s remarks were heard with great attention, and were warmly applauded.)

Adjourned.

THURSDAY.

Met again at the Melodeon, at 10, A. M. The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

The resolutions before the meeting were read by the Secretary.

J. C. CLUER hoped the question on the MITCHEL resolutions would not be taken now, as he desired the fullest opportunity to be given to the friends of Mr. MITCHEL to speak in his defence.

The PRESIDENT replied that the question had not been called for, and would not probably be taken at present.

Mr. CLUER made some further remarks on the question.

Rev. E. A. STOCKMAN, of Cummington, Hampshire County, spoke eloquently on the general subject of Slavery. He developed with great clearness and power the Pro-Slavery influences which are now working upon the public mind and conscience, with a view to stifle feeling and suppress utterance. He particularly exposed the cowardly and faithless course, too generally pursued by the so-called churches and ministers of the country.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., offered the following resolutions, and sustained them in a few remarks: —

Resolved, That the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, present at this meeting, be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar each, or such other sum as may be in their power, to defray the expenses of the Annual Meeting. And further,

Resolved, That all the members of the Society, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, whether present or absent, be earnestly invoked to send to the Treasurer, donations of money, or pledges to be redeemed during the year, that the Society may be enabled to continue its warfare upon all the defences of Slavery, and break up the apathy and indifference which so fearfully brood over the public mind.

WENDELL PHILLIPS spoke eloquently for a renewed and fresh consecration of time and talents to the cause.

The Finance Committee, meanwhile, proceeded to the discharge of their duties, which they afterwards, from time to time, continued during the sessions of the meeting.

DANIEL S. WHITNEY, from the Committee on Nominations, reported the following as a Committee on the Officers of the Society for the year ensuing: —

EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham; WILLIAM WHITING, of Concord; RICHARD CLAP, of Dorchester; WILLIAM ASHBY, of Newburyport; JOHN CLEMENT, of Townsend; PAULINA GERRY, of Stoneham; MEHETABEL HASKELL, of Gloucester; JOSEPH MERRILL, of Danvers; and JACOB LEONARD, of East Bridgewater.

The Report was unanimously accepted, and the persons named elected said Committee.

Mr. GARRISON exhibited to the meeting a large handbill, printed in New Orleans, Louisiana, advertising for sale, "184 Valuable Plantation Slaves," names, ages, &c., &c., given. They are of all ages, from near sixty, down to one and a half years. The sale is yet to take place, viz. on the 15th of Feb-

ruary, by the Auctioneers J. A. Beard & May. Mr. Garrison made some comments on the heart-sickening fact, in this country, of a public sale of human beings — God's immortal children.

Adjourned.

Afternoon. The President in the Chair.

Charles C. Burleigh, from the Business Committee, reported the three following resolutions, in place of those which, on Wednesday afternoon, had been referred to the Committee to appear in a new draft: —

Resolved, That American Slavery is a practical denial of self-evident truths concerning the nature and rights of man, and the essence and character of God; and is, therefore, essentially, and under all possible circumstances, wrong.

Resolved, That every book, creed, or law, which either emanates from God, or is in harmony with His will, is necessarily opposed to the doctrine that chattel Slavery is right or expedient; and, consequently, nothing which favors that doctrine can be of divine origin, or worthy of human reverence or allegiance.

Resolved, therefore, That to affirm that the Bible sanctions Slavery, is practically to deny its divine authority; and is, moreover, to represent it as grossly inconsistent with its own fundamental principles of justice, its own great commandments of love supreme to God, and love to our neighbor as ourselves; and to affirm that the Constitution and laws of the land sanction Slavery, is to affirm that they contravene the supreme law binding on all men and nations, and are, therefore, utterly null and void.

Henry C. Wright presented the two following resolutions: —

Resolved, That the government of the United States, so far as it was designed by its founders to protect, propagate, and perpetuate Liberty, has, by consecrating its energies to the protection, propagation, and perpetuation of Slavery, utterly failed to accomplish the object for which it was formed, and it is the right and the duty of the people to change or abolish that government, and to establish one that shall protect all under its jurisdiction, in their inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Resolved, That should the government succeed in its present plan to abolish the Missouri Compromise, and to throw open all the vast public domain to Slavery and the Slave-trade, we consider that the time has fully come for the people *practically* to assert their right of Revolution, and to establish a government that shall secure to all under its jurisdiction their sacred right to freedom, and that shall be, in deed and in truth, an asylum for the oppressed of *all* lands.

Rev. Andrew T. Foss, of Manchester, N. H., spoke with much interest and effect, on the Nebraska question, &c. He traced the sad results upon the Indian, as well as upon the Negro races in this country, of the European immigration, and of what is called European *civilization* and *religion*.

The resolutions upon pecuniary aid to the Society were called for, read again, and adopted.

William Lloyd Garrison then came forward, and was received with much warmth of feeling. We regret that we are unable to give any adequate report of his remarks. He alluded, in beginning, to the old question in Judea, — Have any of the rulers believed on him? which, if answered in the

negative, was sufficient to set aside the claims of JESUS. If the question were asked now, the answer would be different. All the rulers, now, make haste to profess a belief in JESUS; and yet, they join hands with Slaveholders, enact the Fugitive Slave Law, open new territory to Slavery, and do all in their power to "crush" the Anti-Slavery cause. Recently, there appeared in an orthodox religious journal, at Portland, edited by Rev. Dr. CUMMINGS, an article highly laudatory of President PIERCE, because he had family prayers every day, at the White House, and grace was said at his table! Yet, see his course and policy, pledging himself to maintain the Fugitive Slave Law, and the compromises with Slavery, and recommending in his annual message, that the kidnappers of the Amistad negroes should receive compensation for the loss of their property, although the decision of the United States Courts was, that those Negroes were kidnapped from Africa, and were lawfully FREE.

Yet, said Mr. G., as we look over the world, we find the good, the true, the worthy, are on our side. These are not few in numbers, they are mighty in power, and God will yet give us the victory. Those who attended the recent Bazaar, in this city, saw a remarkable sight, in the Address of the five hundred and seventy thousand Women of Great Britain to the Women of America. There were recorded the names of women in every rank and situation of life, from the most affluent and distinguished, down to the most lowly. Yes, here they all were, united by their common humanity and by the testimony of their common heart against the cruel and unrighteous system of American Slavery, to offer their joint protest against its abominations. It was a great deed; and the Address is a noble and an enduring monument of the philanthropy and Christian sympathy of the women of Great Britain.

Mr. G. spoke of the Slave population of our country, and of the vast addition annually made to their numbers, thereby adding just so much to the financial and political power of their oppressors. Not less than one hundred thousand are annually born into Slavery. At the market value, these are to be reckoned at not less than fifty dollars each; making an annual addition, in fresh victims, of five millions of dollars to the wealth and power of the Slaveholders.

And what is doing on the other side? I read, said he, within a few days, that a single church and congregation in this city (Rev. E. N. KIRK's) had subscribed over four thousand dollars, for the year, to the cause of *Foreign Missions*, and it was said that the amount would undoubtedly be raised to six thousand dollars. Six thousand dollars, in one congregation, in a single year, for the conversion of the heathen abroad! But ask this same church and congregation to contribute for preaching the gospel to three and a half millions of Slaves *at home*, the greater part of whom are in "a heathen condition," (so testified by Southern religious bodies,) and what would they give? Not six cents.

What did the American Anti-Slavery Society receive last year? Only about six or seven thousand dollars for all its operations, to sustain all its agents, and to sustain, also, its organ, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*.

And of this sum, a considerable proportion was furnished by the contributions of friends abroad, through the Bazaar.

Mr. G. then spoke of the terrible and traitorous blow which has just been struck against the cause of liberty by JOHN MITCHEL.

Mr. HAUGHTON, said Mr. G., needs no commendation from us. As a gentleman, he is one of the model men of Europe, — as a lover of his country, ever devoted and active, — as a friend of his race, ready to every good word and work. It is an infamous allegation that he, being a corn-merchant, has speculated in the sufferings and needs of his countrymen. It is a false and libellous charge. And JOHN MITCHEL would have us believe that JESUS CHRIST himself would have held Slaves, and coveted a Slave plantation had he dwelt in America. Mr. G. referred to DANIEL O'CONNELL, and his declaration, that he would never come to this country, so long as Slavery continued. But I rejoice, said he, that JOHN MITCHEL has come out so plainly, and at once. We now know the man, and nobody will be deceived by his cant about liberty.

A voice in the gallery — "Thank God, the Irish are not all JOHN MITCHELS." This was said in an unmistakable Irish accent, and elicited much applause.

And yet, said Mr. GARRISON, is JOHN MITCHEL a sinner above all men? What more has he said than Bishop HEDDING, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, when he defended Slavery as in accordance with the Golden Rule? Wherein is he worse than MOSES STUART, of Andover, and all others who have defended, or are defending, Slavery as in accordance with the word and will of God?

Mr. GARRISON's speech produced a very deep impression.

Adjourned.

EVENING. The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

The meeting was addressed, at this session, by WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JOSEPH BARKER, and WENDELL PHILLIPS. A phonographic report was taken of their remarks, and they were published at length in the Anti-Slavery journals of the time.

Adjourned to Friday.

FRIDAY.

Re-assembled at the Melodeon. PRESIDENT in the chair.

The resolutions before the Society were again read.

G. W. PUTNAM, of Lynn, took the floor. He alluded to some remarks about himself in the *Liberator*, and said that for twenty years he had never faltered in his Anti-Slavery course, though he had continually suffered on that account. Mr. P. went on to express his disagreement with some of the views advanced, the evening previous, by Messrs. GARRISON and PHILLIPS. He denied that there could be any genuine Anti-Slavery or philanthropy in the nobility and aristocracy of England, inasmuch as they were themselves the grievous oppressors of their fellow men.

J. C. CLUER replied to Mr. PUTNAM, pointing out several erroneous assumptions of his, and showing the vast difference between any foreign oppression and American Slavery.

WILLIAM H. FISH, of Hopedale, addressed the meeting in an earnest and excellent speech, showing some of the principal hindrances and difficulties in the way of the progress of Anti-Slavery, but evincing still an unshaken faith in its certain triumph over them all.

Rev. HIRAM WILSON, of St. Catherine's, Canada West, offered the following resolutions: —

Resolved, That hell from beneath is moved to meet all tyrants at their coming, whether American or trans-atlantic; and that, while we pity the crushed victims of Slavery and oppression, and would do everything in our power for their speedy deliverance in accordance with the Golden Rule of the law of love, given by the great Redeemer of mankind, we cherish unmingled abhorrence, but no malevolent feeling, towards the tyrant and the Slaveholder, and regard true Abolitionists, of every land, as their only faithful friends, who fain would save them from the awful doom that awaits them.

Resolved, That the numerous and rapidly increasing colored population of Canada have given and are now affording full and convincing proofs, that they are eminently deserving the blessed boon of Freedom for which they struggled in the midst of difficulties and dangers seldom, if ever, experienced by any people, and that it is pleasingly evident that those who have escaped from Southern yokes, and whips, and branding-irons, and patrols, are not incompetent to "take care of themselves."

Mr. WILSON supported these resolutions in some interesting remarks, in the course of which he related the cases of several persons who had escaped from Slavery, and were now living in Canada. They had abundantly vindicated their ability to take care of themselves and their families, and to command the respect and confidence of those about them.

Adjourned.

AFTERNOON. The PRESIDENT in the chair.

W. L. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions: —

Resolved, That this Society feels the highest pleasure on learning that GEORGE THOMPSON, of England, the early, incorruptible, eloquent, and powerfully efficient advocate of the Slave, is once more publicly in the field, at home, and actively consecrating his time and talents to the glorious work of concentrating and directing the entire public sentiment (and especially the religious influence) of England against the Satanic Slave system in America; and we beg him to assure every audience which he may be permitted to address, every religious body with which he may be in correspondence, and every friend of humanity with whom he may come in contact, that no testimony borne by them against our great national sin can possibly do any injury, but it will greatly encourage and strengthen the friends, and dishearten the foes, of negro emancipation on our soil.

Whereas, it is the declared purpose of the present national Administration to exclude from every official station under the government, every man who refuses to support "the Compromise Measures of 1850, including the Fugitive Slave Law," or to wear a padlock on his lips in regard to the subject

of Slavery; thus wielding the terrible power of the government to the enlargement and perpetuation of the Slave Power, and the "crushing out" of the Anti-Slavery spirit universally; therefore,

Resolved, That FRANKLIN PIERCE is guilty of high treason against the cause of Liberty — of trampling under foot the provisions of the Constitution, and making it more than ever the guardian and bulwark of a form of despotism too revolting to be tolerated on the soil of Europe; and, therefore, he is to be impeached and branded as the vilest of all the tyrants who now curse the nations of the earth — and as one upon whom PIUS IX. of Italy, and FRANCIS JOSEPH, of Austria, and NICHOLAS, of Russia, may look down with scorn and derision.

Resolved, That usurpation so daring and profligate as this should cause all party lines to be obliterated, until the Administration is made to sink under the weight of popular indignation, and the Slave Power is driven out of existence.

WENDELL PHILLIPS spoke, showing by numerous proofs the work which the Anti-Slavery agitation has accomplished in the country, and particularly upon Southern opinion and action. He then spoke of the infamous purpose of the Administration, and of certain aspiring Northern politicians, to destroy the Missouri Compromise, by way of propitiating the favor and gaining the support of Slaveholders. He next alluded to the misrepresentation of him, by one of the speakers in the morning, in saying that he *praised the institutions of England*. He had done no such thing. All he had said was, that England was far better than the United States. And that was saying absolutely nothing. But this he would say, that the statute-book of England has, for years, been steadily rising higher in the scale of justice and humanity, becoming more and more free from unequal and oppressive enactments and severe penalties; while that of the United States has been as certainly and steadily growing more and more odious. And when we make such a comparison, we are to remember the wide difference in the situation and circumstances of the two nations — the one, old, hemmed in by narrow limits, and crowded with a dense population, crippled by the effects of former misrule, and burdened with enormous debts — the other, young, fresh, free from debt, with a vast unsettled territory of great fertility, waiting to be occupied and tilled by tens of millions of people. When these things are taken into the account, as in honesty they should be, we cannot fail to be still more impressed with the advance made in England in the science of government, and in regard for the well-being of the people. Indeed, the tyranny of the worst despotisms of the Old World becomes light, in the comparison with American Slavery.

Mr. GARRISON spoke in support of the resolutions on the National Administration.

Rev. THEODORE PARKER addressed the meeting in a speech of some length, prepared with evident care, and delivered with much effect. [We hope that Mr. PARKER may write out this speech for publication; meanwhile, we take in part from the *Commonwealth*, the following sketch of it.]

Rev. THEODORE PARKER spoke for nearly an hour and a half upon the present aspect and position of the Slave Power in America. He referred to this power as regards its territorial extent, comparing its former circum-

scribed limits with its present extended area. The unoccupied territory was to be the battle-ground upon which would be contested the subject of Slavery, in Congress, at this session. Every church has its symbolical books; every State has also its books or Constitution. Russia has none, but its book is the Czar. American churches worship the unacknowledged god — Mammon. Many of our ministers, with the Bible before them, inaugurate the worship of Mammon. The principle of the Whig party was to put money before man — the principle of the Democratic party was to put the majority before the instinctive right of man.

Allusion was made to the Inaugural Address of President PIERCE, in which he declared his purpose to carry out the principles of the Missouri Compromise. The Constitution has several times been violated by the Slaveholding power. The Bible Society will not distribute its Bibles among the Slave population. The Tract Society looks over its publications, and strikes out everything opposed to Slavery. In the North, there is an effort, to-day, to get rid of Slavery. There are those who are earnestly laboring, but the Free Soil party is not on its feet, but on its back. It has not lost its legs, but has slipped and fallen. Yet its heart is sound, and it will yet rise up again and stand. Allusion was made to the delegation of the Anti-Slavery party in Congress. He paid a just and worthy compliment to Messrs. SUMNER and CHASE, for their efforts in the Senate, and Messrs. SMITH and GIDDINGS of the House. A touching tribute was paid to the memory of ROBERT RANTOUL, Jr. He enumerated several favorable indications in the South, which, at present, promised much good to the cause of Freedom. Several names were mentioned, of men who are fishing for the Presidency, among whom were CASS, DOUGLASS, EVERETT, LAWRENCE, FOOTE, and DAVIS; and he said that, after we have had POLK, FILLMORE, and PIERCE, there is nobody so low but that they can aspire. Allusion was made to BEDINI, the Pope's nuncio, who, he said, came here with his hand red with his brother's blood, and two eminent Senators had made an attempt to wash it white as snow.

Adjourned.

EVENING. The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee on that subject, reported the following for Officers of the Society during the ensuing year. [See *Officers of the Society*, page 4.]

The report was unanimously accepted; and the persons therein named elected Officers for the year ensuing.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH read the first three resolutions before the meeting, and spoke very ably in their support.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS being called for by several voices in the audience, came to the platform and made a few remarks on the resolutions read by Mr. BURLEIGH, and some other topics.

EDMUND QUINCY spoke, chiefly to the rescinding of the Missouri Compromise. He traced the policy and successive triumphs of the Slave Power with

great ability; and predicted the complete success, for the time, of all its schemes, unless the Northern people shook off their apathy, acquired some manliness of spirit, and showed a determined resistance to this desperate, yet really in themselves feeble, band of Slaveholders.

Jerome B. Taft, formerly of McGrawville College, addressed the meeting in a brief but spirited speech.

Mr. Garrison, from the Business Committee, introduced the following resolution: —

Whereas, our faithful and beloved coadjutor, Parker Pillsbury, after many years of arduous and unremitted labors in the Anti-Slavery cause, as an Agent both of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, to the prostration of his health, so that he has deemed it expedient to take a voyage to Europe for its restoration; therefore,

Resolved, That we warmly commend him to the generous hospitality, fraternal confidence, and earnest coöperation of the friends of negro emancipation in particular, and the cause of freedom universally, wherever he may travel abroad; that our best wishes, mingled with the blessings of "those who are ready to perish," go with him; and that we trust he will, in due time, be restored to his family and friends, to his co-laborers, and the field of conflict with the Slave Power, with his bodily health fully restored, and his heart greatly strengthened, to enter afresh into the work of "undoing the heavy burdens, breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free."

In a very clear and affecting speech, Mr. Garrison asserted and defended the rights of the enslaved population of the land, and denounced their wicked and cruel oppressors.

A stranger in the audience arose to complain of what Mr. Garrison had said of the churches and ministers of the North. He knew a great many ministers, who were thoroughly Anti-Slavery, and prepared to work for the overthrow of Slavery.

Mr. Garrison replied, Who has said that there are no Anti-Slavery ministers and churches? No one. We know, and rejoice to know, there are such; but we also know, that they are very few. They are the exceptions, who will always take care of themselves, and who will vindicate sufficiently their own position and character. And if the numerous ministers, of whom the gentleman has spoken, are so Anti-Slavery, and so willing to work in this cause, why do we not see some of them here to-day?

Charles L. Remond said that, feeling quite unwell, this afternoon, he had gone home to Salem. But when he arrived there, he felt worse, and so he came back again! He rejoiced to have one more opportunity to lift up his voice, in Boston, to protest against the infamous system of Slaveholding at the South, and the equally infamous spirit of negro-hate at the North. He referred particularly to the recently published statement, that Mr. William Appleton, Representative from Boston, in Congress, had made a large donation to the Colonization Society, to assist in sending eighty colored persons to Liberia. Mr. Remond denounced the act, as one of negro-proscription and hatred, and as showing Mr. Appleton to be an enemy to the colored people. Mr. Remond spoke with very great warmth, and with true eloquence, and was loudly applauded.

The hour being late, Mr. GARRISON moved the adoption of the several resolutions which had been reported to the meeting, and repeatedly read. The motion was seconded by many voices, and being put to the meeting, were unanimously adopted.

The Society then adjourned, *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President*.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., }
ELIZA J. KENNY, } *Assistant Secretaries*.

Dr. **The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in account with Samuel Philbrick, Treasurer.** **Cr.**

Receipts into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from January 1, 1854, to January 1, 1855.

Balance of old account,	$ 754 41
Received from proceeds of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Bazaar, Boston, (1853-4)	3,310 22
" " Collections and Donations at Annual Meeting,	349 60
" " Proceeds of Anti-Slavery Fair, at Fitchburg, 1854,	210 11
" " " " " at Leominster, "	60 00
" " Legacy bequeathed by Amos P. Morse, late of Methuen,	25 00
" " Collections and Donations at New England Convention,	684 99
" " " at Framingham Celebration, 4th of July,	187 04
" " " at Abington Celebration, 1st of August,	136 32
" " Weymouth Female Anti-Slavery Society,	150 00
" " Collections, Subscriptions, and Donations received during the year, as published from time to time in the *Liberator*,	2,867 55
Total amount of receipts,	$ 8,735 27

The Disbursements, during the year, have been the following:—

To Francis Jackson, Treasurer of American Anti-Slavery Society,	$ 4,870 22
" Robert F. Wallcut, for his services in office,	482 13
" Office Rent and Taxes,	270 87
" Samuel May, Jr., for his services as General Agent,	800 00
" " " " " " Travelling expenses during the year,	31 90
" Expenses of Annual Meeting, in Boston,	197 80
" sundry Bills for Printing,	6 75
" Expenses of New England Convention,	145 21
" " Fourth of July Celebration, at Framingham,	36 40
" " First of August " Abington,	38 02
" Reporting at New England Convention, $35.00; at Framingham Celebration, $15.00; at Celebration at Abington, $25.00,	75 00
" W. L. Garrison, for his Services and Expenses as Agent,	27 77
" Andrew T. Foss, " " " "	542 28
" Charles C. Burleigh, " " "	107 32
" J. T. Sargent, " " "	3 50
" E. A. Stockman, " " "	75 20
" Charles L. Remond, " " "	63 58
" S. S. and A. K. Foster, " " "	203 78
" Lewis Ford, " " "	29 04
" *Liberator* furnished members of Congress, per order of the Board,	60 00
Total amount of disbursements,	$ 8,066 77
Leaving balance in Treasury, January 1, 1855,	668 50
E. E.	$ 8,735 27

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, TREASURER.

BROOKLINE, January 1, 1855.

BOSTON, January 19, 1855.

I have examined this account of the Treasurer, and find it correct.

EDMUND JACKSON, AUDITOR.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1855.

PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Andrew Robeson, New Bedford.
Edmund Quincy, Dedham.
Adin Ballou, Milford.
Joshua T. Everett, Princeton.
Effingham L. Capron, Worcester.
Jefferson Church, Springfield.
Oliver Gardner, Nantucket.
Henry I. Bowditch, Boston.
Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield.
Caroline Weston, Weymouth.
Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg.
George Miles, Westminster.
James N. Buffum, Lynn.
Cyrus Peirce, Newton.
John T. Hilton, Brighton.
Thomas T. Stone, Bolton.
Bourne Spooner, Plymouth.
William Ashby, Newburyport.
John Bailey, Lynn.
John S. Stafford, Cummington.
James Russell Lowell, Cambridge.
Richard Clap, Dorchester.
William Whiting, Concord.
Ezekiel Thatcher, Barnstable.
David P. Harmon, Haverhill.
Charles Lenox Remond, Salem.
John Clement, Townsend.
Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport.
Lewis Ford, Abington.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Leicester.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston.

TREASURER.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

AUDITOR.

EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

COUNSELLORS.

William Lloyd Garrison.
Maria Weston Chapman.
Cornelius Bramhall.
Eliza Lee Follen.
Edmund Quincy.
John T. Sargent.
Wendell Phillips.
John Rogers.
Anne W. Weston.
Charles K. Whipple.
William I. Bowditch.
Charles F. Hovey.

ANNUAL STATEMENT

OF THE

General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at the Twenty-third Annual Meeting, January, 1855.

The General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in presenting the Annual Statement of the operations of the Society, cannot withhold the expression of his regret — in which all the members of the Society, and all the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause cannot but largely share — at the interruption in the series of Annual Reports, which for twenty-one years so faithfully chronicled not only the Society's history, but that of the entire movement in the United States, and in other countries also, against the gigantic wrong of Slavery. By an arrangement entered into, somewhat more than a year since, between the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, the latter agreed to transfer, if we may so term it, its Annual Report to the former. There were many reasons for this course, and an evident propriety in the arrangement. In the first place, the American Society — the central, parent organization — had had no Annual Report for many years; owing mainly to the fact that the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania State Societies each published annually a full Report — to say nothing of others by various local Societies. These Reports supplied all the seeming needs of the cause, and in reality rendered a third Report of a like full and comprehensive character, almost superfluous. Still, there remained the manifest impropriety that the American Anti-Slavery Society — the *national* organization, and that which chiefly represented, both at home and abroad, the associated movement against Slavery — should allow year by year to pass by, without uttering its own special word upon the subject. The thorough and admirable manner in which the two of its principal auxiliaries (already referred to) did the work of annually gathering up the statistics of the cause, and the abundant material for its history, did not seem a sufficient reason or justification of its silence. Besides, the two State Reports were already in the main national in their character. It seemed, therefore, that there was little more to do, than to provide that one of these Reports should be made to the Annual Meeting of the American Society, and be published in its name, and this deficiency in its annual operations would at once become satisfactorily supplied. It was accordingly suggested, in many quarters, that the Massachusetts Society should surrender its Annual Report, and that,

from that time forward, it should be made and published in the name of the American Society. In this way no real loss would be sustained by the Massachusetts Society, while an actual and a great gain would accrue to the American. There seemed, moreover, to be a greater propriety that such Reports, as for a succession of years had been made to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, should go forth in the name of a central and national, than of a local, State association. The readers of these Reports will well remember that their character, for some time past, has been *national* more than local; that they have presented a comprehensive view of the whole country, as to its position towards Slavery, and indeed have aimed to pass nothing by, either at home or abroad, which had connection with, or a legitimate bearing upon, the great sin of American Slavery. In view of all these circumstances, it was the unanimous conclusion of the Massachusetts Society, that the interests of our common cause would be best subserved, by yielding our Annual Report, as that of a local and auxiliary Society, to the parent, national organization; — albeit there *is* a sense, which we who claim old Massachusetts for our mother, cannot willingly suffer to be forgotten — in which *this Society* is the parent of all other Anti-Slavery Societies in the land, — at least of all that regard Slavery as a crime and a sin, to be immediately repented of and put away. The Executive Committee of the American Society gladly accepted the arrangement made in its favor by the Massachusetts Society, and all looked forward to the American Society's resumption of its own series of Reports, so long discontinued, with confident expectation that a far wider circulation and a more extensive influence awaited them, than while published in the name of a State Society.

It may not be improper to say a few words here in relation to the series of Annual Reports which have emanated from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

It is difficult to contemplate, without at least a temporary feeling of regret, — the interruption, and, in one sense, termination of a series of documents, so able, so valuable, so long and faithfully continued, as the Reports of this Society have been. Had the Society done nothing more than to call forth, and publish their Annual Reports, this alone would have justified the time, labor, and money which have been expended by it from the first. Twenty-one of these Reports appeared, in twenty-one successive years, and they now stand a noble and imperishable monument of the wisdom, moral courage, high principle, and faithful perseverance of the original founders of the Society, and of their successors from year to year. They constitute an invaluable body of materials for a thorough and reliable history of the Anti-Slavery cause. They are, indeed, the current history of the cause, from year to year, since the formation of the first Anti-Slavery Society in the land based upon the principle of the sinfulness of Slavery, and the duty of its immediate abolition. Of these twenty-one Reports, seven were written by Mr. Garrison, two by Samuel E. Sewall, Esq., one by Rev. Samuel J. May, now of Syracuse, N. Y., and the remaining eleven, for the last eleven years of the series, by Mr. Edmund Quincy. The labors of the last named gentleman, in this particular — the thoroughness and comprehensiveness of

his Reports, their accuracy, their sound philosophy, their critical survey and exposure of the many subtle influences, in political and ecclesiastical parties, which go to sustain Slavery, have long since won for him, on both sides the Atlantic, the name and reputation of an Anti-Slavery historian, and have caused our Reports to be eagerly sought and highly prized by intelligent friends of the Anti-Slavery movement.

By the arrangement made with the Executive Committee of the American Society, the further labors of Mr. QUINCY, in this regard, were not to be lost to the cause, and we confidently hope they will not be. We will hope that they may be continued for yet many years, and through them that the whole history of the mighty battle of the Nineteenth Century, the battle of the great Principle of Human Freedom with the vile dogma of Chattel Slavery, will be faithfully chronicled. We anticipate with all confidence, that, at its next Annual Meeting, the desired Report will be made to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and published in its name.

In such circumstances, it became desirable, last year, that some one should prepare for the Annual Meeting of this Society at least a Statement of its operations during the year previous; and it seemed to belong to no one so properly to do it, as to the General Agent of the Society. By him such a Statement was then made. The return of another Anniversary calls for a similar Statement from him of the Society's doings for the year 1854, which he proceeds to give.

In every way in which its Treasury and the Agents in its service could be rightfully employed, the Society has been steadily laboring during the year past. Immediately after the last Annual Meeting, it undertook anew the work of preaching the Gospel of Anti-Slavery, and of calling the people of New England to repentance of their sinful complicity in the bondage of their brethren, the three million Slaves in this boasted Christian Republic. It has had, for another year, a band of tried and faithful Agents, who have gone forth, fearing no sect, or party, or man — having no personal and selfish aims to promote — and resolved only to proclaim the truth with regard to this oppressive people and their victims in Slavery.

To carry forward this work, the Society has had the funds raised and pledged at the last Annual Meeting, together with those raised and pledged (so far as paid in) at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, held in May last. Being entrusted with the expenditure of the latter, the Society has felt its obligation to expend them, in part, in other of the New England States besides Massachusetts, and has endeavored to discharge its duty in that respect.

The following Agents have been in the Society's service during the past year: — STEPHEN S. FOSTER, ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, ANDREW T. FOSS, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, CHARLES L. REMOND, NATHANIEL H. WHITING, LEWIS FORD, and SALLIE HOLLEY. Also, Rev. ELNATHAN DAVIS, of Fitchburg, and Rev. E. A. STOCKMAN, of Cummington, as Local Agents.

Mr. and Mrs. FOSTER were in the State during the entire year, though not able to devote their whole time to the direct service of the cause. In the early autumn, Mrs. FOSTER accepted the appointment of General Finan-

cial Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and, in that capacity, as well as in that of a lecturer, has rendered very efficient aid to that Society and the cause. Mr. Foster, during the autumn, set on foot a series of weekly Anti-Slavery Meetings in the City of Worcester, the place of his residence. To the revival of Anti-Slavery feeling, caused by those meetings, is to be attributed, in a good degree, that most praiseworthy and honorable deed, — the expulsion of the kidnapper, Asa O. Butman, from that city, — and the not less honorable fact that that base man was shielded from all bodily harm and safely conducted beyond the city's limits, by those very men whose detestation of his occupation was the strongest and the most undoubted, — by Mr. Foster, himself, Rev. T. W. Higginson, G. F. Hoar, Esq., Joseph A. Howland, and others. The prosecutions set on foot against Mr. Foster and others, by certain tools of the Slave Power, for the obvious purpose of gaining favor with the present National Administration, appear to have signally failed, — the Grand Jury of the County having refused to find bills of indictment against them, except in one or two instances for simple assault, of which the parties will very probably be acquitted on trial.

Rev. Andrew T. Foss was an Agent of this Society for eight months, — from January 1st to September 1st, with the exception of a few weeks in which he was engaged as an agent of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society. Soon after the 1st of September, he accepted an Agency appointment from the American Anti-Slavery Society, and went to Michigan, in which State and in Indiana he has continued laboring earnestly and very acceptably to the present time, and will continue probably some months longer.

Charles C. Burleigh was an Agent of this Society for about two months, in the early part of the year. Since that time he has been engaged mostly as an Agent of the American Society, in labors in Ohio and other Western States; and at present is in Pennsylvania.

Charles L. Remond has been, from time to time, an Agent of this Society during the year, and also of the American Society. His health, however, we regret to say, has been so much impaired and so precarious that we have been, to a considerable extent, disappointed in the aid we hoped to receive from him.

Nathaniel H. Whiting and Lewis Ford were, for a short time, associated in lecturing labors as Agents of this Society.

Sallie Holley renewed an engagement with this Society as a Lecturing Agent, at the commencement of the winter, since which she has been occupied in the northerly part of Worcester County, and in some adjoining towns in Middlesex County.

Rev. Elnathan Davis, of Fitchburg, and Rev. E. A. Stockman, of Cummington, both of them Pastors of Societies in their respective towns, have been local Agents of this Society during the year past — the former during the year, the latter until about August, when sickness compelled him to leave his post, both as a Pastor and as an Agent.

William H. Fish, of Hopedale, has been, through a large part of the year, an agent of the *Worcester County South Anti-Slavery Society;* and, as

such, should be named here, both as a true and faithful helper of the cause, and also as Agent of a Society which is in every sense auxiliary to this.

In addition to the above Agents, the Society has had the services, during the year, of its General Agent, SAMUEL MAY, Jr. Upon him mainly devolves the duty of arranging the Annual and Special Meetings of this Society, and of its Auxiliaries, and of the meetings held, and lectures given, by its several Agents. He has, also, attended many County and other meetings during the year, whenever circumstances seemed to require it, and other duties permitted. A considerable portion of the General Agent's time, for two or three years past, having been required for business of the American Anti-Slavery Society, arrangements have been made by which it may be so appropriated.

Nor must it be omitted, in this connection, to speak of the return to his native land, after a five years' sojourn in the old world, of our much-esteemed and faithful friend, WILLIAM WELLS BROWN. Reaching this country late in September, his first public act was to attend the Semi-Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held at Syracuse, N. Y., September 29th and 30th. A few weeks after, he accepted an appointment from the American Anti-Slavery Society as a Lecturing Agent, and has ever since been laboring in its behalf. These labors have been, in part, in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; but having been mostly in New England — chiefly in the State of Rhode Island — there is an additional propriety in mentioning them in this Statement. It has given an unalloyed pleasure to Mr. BROWN'S many personal friends, and to the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, to see him once more amongst us, and to hail him as a sharer in our work.

We cannot pass without a cordial and grateful acknowledgment, the services which, in different places, in and out of New England, have been rendered to the cause by LUCY STONE. Formerly, and for many years, one of its most earnest, devoted, and efficient advocates, she has given herself, for the last year or two, mainly to another cause, in which, as a woman and a true friend to humanity, she has felt a deep and natural interest. This, while it has withdrawn from the Anti-Slavery cause much of that direct attention and service which she had been wont to render, has not lessened the interest she feels in it, nor wholly deprived us of her direct and most welcome coöperation. It need not be said that all her words and deeds are, in a high and noble sense, Anti-Slavery. And we know that, in every position, and however employed, she will ever be acting with her old associates and friends for the redemption of the American Slave.

The frequent labors of Mr. GARRISON and of WENDELL PHILLIPS in the Society's behalf — their readiness to aid in sustaining its meetings, and those of the County Societies, whenever possible for them to do so, demand our acknowledgment, and are entitled to our best and warmest thanks.

The two Special Meetings of the Society, held on the Fourth of July, at the Grove in Framingham, and on the First of August, in the Grove in Abington, were most numerously attended, and most happy in their effects.

The utterances at both were, as the times required, of the boldest and most searching character, as the reports of them, made at the time, testify; but bold and thorough as they were, they were entirely sustained by the judgment and sympathies of the numerous hearers which had thronged together from far and near, to hear and participate. In addition to the speakers whose names have become more familiar to Anti-Slavery ears and hearts, we had the pleasure, on the Fourth of July, to welcome HENRY D. THOREAU to the public advocacy of our cause; while at Abington, we had the hearty support of Rev. Messrs. STETSON, HIGGINSON, and DALL.

To sustain our Agents, and carry on the necessary operations of the Society, we need hardly say, demands not only the liberal donations of all its friends, but something more — even a spirit of self-sacrifice and self-denial for the cause's sake, which shall impel us to greater exertions, to more cheerful labors, than ever before.

The pledges made at the Annual Meeting, a year since, have nearly all been redeemed. Some, however, are still unpaid, and are now fully due. With all these, however, and the contributions made, from time to time, at local meetings, the operations of the Society are greatly restricted, from the want of the means necessary to sustain them. And here we must not omit to thank the many friends who, by their hospitality to our Agents, and by their aiding them from place to place, do much to lighten the Society's burdens. With the Society's means, it has done what it could; yet how very little in comparison with what needs to be done, and we should do! Not an Agent has this Society — representing as it does in part the Abolitionists of all New England — sent, during the year, into Vermont. One only has visited, and that for not a long period, New Hampshire and Maine. With the aid of the American Society, Rhode Island has been better cultivated, but still the work there is only commenced. Connecticut is almost unvisited; and sorely needs the warning cry of the genuine Anti-Slavery gospel. For at least half of the year, on the average, we have been compelled to spare even our few Agents for the far wider field in the great West. It would be quite within the most moderate bounds to say that at least *ten* Agents should be continually at work in every one of our New England States; for "it is high time they awaked out of their sleep," and only the living voice of faithful instruction and rebuke can, under God, awake them.

The past year was a momentous one to our cause, and was a long stride towards the ultimate downfall and ruin of the Nation. It was a sad year to all who prize liberty, and whose hearts yearn for the deliverance of the poor and the oppressed. The passage of the Nebraska Bill — full of fraud and knavery, originating with and passed by Northern hypocrites and traitors — signalized the triumph of the Slave Power over Freedom and her friends. Then followed hard that spectacle — so ignominious, so disgraceful to Massachusetts, so damning to Boston — the seizure of ANTHONY BURNS, in our streets, for no crime, (though on the lying pretext of one,) his mock trial before a cowardly Commissioner, and his delivery to his brutal Virginia owner. It was noticeable to some who attended those Court-room scenes, how

seldom (if at all) the Commissioner or the prosecuting Attorney ventured to look upon the face of their poor helpless victim. In their dying hours, the agonized face of that suffering man will look out of the hell of Slavery, into which they forced him, and will mock when their fear cometh. Then, too, we saw the hateful sight of a Massachusetts court-house, filled with ignorant men of foreign birth, but wearing the Army uniform of the United States, driving out Massachusetts men from its precincts, and aiding in sending a native-born American into hopeless Slavery. We saw a Mayor, who had declared that none of the city Police should be allowed to lift a finger to help reduce a man to Slavery, with falsehood, and meanness, and shameless alacrity, taking the lead in the kidnapping. We have seen other sights, so incredibly base and mean, that the future reader of history will refuse to believe the tale. We have seen the military companies of Boston, composed of men, young and old, brought up in its schools and churches, and supposed to be, the most of them, decent men — men claiming to be the very *elite* of Boston society — not only ready to help enslave a man and shoot down all who might befriend him, but grovelling before the General Government afterwards, impatient for their *pay!* Shame, foul shame, on the Colonels and Captains, the Officers and Privates of Boston, who would do the work of Guinea traders, kidnappers, man-stealers, (sinners whom God dooms, and every honest man loathes,) and then receive the gold and the silver, the price of blood, "the price of him that was valued," and put it in their treasuries! The Boston of fifty years ago cries out in judgment on the men of this generation, and spews them out of its mouth. We have seen, too, the recreant and degraded Boston of 1854, re-elect to his official position the Mayor who had brought this new disgrace upon the city; re-electing him, too, through a party which professes, in an especial manner, to vindicate the rights of the humblest born upon our soil.

To crown this evil work, and to seal their own disgrace, the United States Court, sitting in this city, caused Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Thomas W. Higginson, Martin Stowell, and Samuel T. Proudman, to be indicted as accessories to the so-called Burns Riot; and required them to give bonds to appear and take their trial in March next. We have every reason to be confident that this act of Judge Benjamin R. Curtis, and District Attorney Benjamin F. Hallett, is regarded with disapprobation and censure by the great mass of the intelligent and respectable people even of conservative Boston; while, through the State at large, it meets with undisguised contempt. We cannot, of course, predict the result, but our belief is, that neither of these gentlemen can, at this day, and in Massachusetts, be found guilty on such a charge. And we are very sure that, be the result what it may, it will tend to the greater honor and fame of the parties accused, and will lift them to a higher place in the confidence and affection of all the true friends of freedom.

But we would "thank God and take courage" that even these terrible wrongs — these apparent defeats of freedom, have not been without their compensation. Thousands have been aroused to understand the true character of Slavery, who before were wholly indifferent. Cheated, over-reached,

and insulted themselves, in their bargain and compromise with the South, they learn at last the meaning of these Southern aggressions, and begin to perceive their object. May their awakening not be too late!

The feeling of indignation which so extensively followed the violation of the Missouri Compromise, (in the passage of the Nebraska Bill) seriously alarmed some of our Northern politicians; but, far more, some of our Northern *Divines!* With an almost despairing shriek, two of them have rushed to the rescue of Slavery, resolved, if possible, to suppress and annihilate Northern conscience and Northern sensibility. Behold their wicked and Heaven-daring works! Rev. Dr. NATHAN LORD's Pamphlet to prove the scriptural, and moral, and lawful character of Slaveholding, and Rev. Dr. NEHEMIAH ADAMS's *South-Side View* of Slavery! The orthodox head of Dartmouth College, and the orthodox pastor of a Boston Church, united in the goodly and so appropriate (!) work, of reconciling the Northern mind and heart to the existence and growth of "the sum of all villanies!" Let them strive; — they "kick against the pricks;" they "fight against God."

It would be unpardonable not to make mention of a new instrumentality which, during the last autumn, was put in operation by the American Anti-Slavery Society, viz., the issuing of brief and ably-written Anti-Slavery Tracts, for gratuitous distribution. This work was undertaken by the American Society, but the business of stereotyping and printing was done in this city. Four Tracts — on the United States Constitution; on the extent to which the White Population are held in Slavery in the Southern States; on Colonization; and on the Moral and Religious Effects of Slavery both upon the Slave and Slaveholder — have been written, stereotyped, and printed. Of these Tracts, 30,000 have been printed, and 10,000 more will soon be issued, making a total of 40,000 Tracts, or 360,000 pages. To meet the cost of these, a special fund was created, to which the contributions hitherto have been about $1,600. This sum needs to be greatly increased. The Tracts have been sent to Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, New York, and Pennsylvania, as well as to all of the New England States, and very many calls for them are still unanswered. These we hope soon to supply. Other Tracts are in preparation, and some are promised for which many are anxiously looking.

The General Agent of this Society is also its Corresponding Secretary, and as such, is called upon to conduct a somewhat extensive correspondence, both at home and abroad. It is quite impossible, in the limits which must be observed for this Statement, to go into the details of this correspondence. We have, as you know, many noble and zealous co-workers throughout our land, — would to God they were multiplied a thousand-fold. Abroad, the friends of our cause and of our Society are increasing in numbers, are steadfast in their faith, and unwearied in their labors of love. The blessing of those who are "ready to perish" is theirs. To one circumstance connected with the foreign correspondence allusion may be made, because of the illustration it affords of Southern *manners*, as well as of Southern character. Some friends in Edinburgh, Scotland, were very desirous that the recent able and dispassionate Scottish Remonstrance against American Slavery,

signed by 40,000 ministers, church members, and others, and addressed, in a courteous manner, and in a spirit of true Christian fidelity, to the *People of the United States*, should be published in some of the leading newspapers of the Southern States. These Edinburgh friends addressed a letter to the writer of this, enclosing a copy of the Remonstrance, and sending a sum of money to pay for its insertion in such Southern papers. Though having little faith that any Southern newspaper would either dare, or desire, to print a line calling the Christian character of Slavery in question — the writer of this addressed a courteous note to the Editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*, sending a copy of the Remonstrance, and requesting its insertion as an advertisement. *No notice was taken of the letter.* After waiting several weeks, and receiving no answer, a similar note was addressed to the Washington *Union*. A copy of the latter note was preserved, and is as follows: —

BOSTON, January 13, 1855.

To the Editors of the Union, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: — I have lately received from Edinburgh, Scotland, a "Friendly Remonstrance on the subject of Slavery," addressed to the People of the United States of America. The original is signed by some 40,000 persons of Scotland. The senders have requested me to obtain its publication in some Southern journal or journals, if possible; and have forwarded to me a sum of money to pay for such publication.

The enclosed is a copy of the Remonstrance. Will you give it an insertion in the *Union?* If you see fit so to do — on receiving from you a copy of the paper containing it, I will immediately forward to you the above named sum.

If you decline to insert it, please give me a reply to that effect, and much oblige

Yours, in the hope of a truly free country,

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
No. 21 *Cornhill, Boston.*

To this note, also, *no answer has been received.* The upholders of Slavery of course cannot be expected to observe the common courtesies of social life. A natural shame, also, would deter them from the confession that they *dare not* listen even to a "Friendly Remonstrance" on their great sin against man and against God, — much less be the vehicle of conveying such remonstrance to thousands of others, some of whom might be touched by its appeals, perhaps even "pricked in their hearts," so as to ask, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?"

Although it is not the object of this report to speak of things transpiring beyond the borders of New England, yet we must give expression to our feelings of high satisfaction in the progress our cause is making on the other side of the water. The Anti-Slavery Conference held at Manchester, England, on the first of August last, was a most highly respectable assemblage, and an important event in our history. A large number of gentlemen, from various parts of Great Britain and Ireland, composed the Conference. There was also present, as a faithful friend and able representative of American Anti-Slavery, PARKER PILLSBURY. The Conference passed a series of strong

and effective resolutions, and among them one of warm sympathy with the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, commending it to the confidence and support of all who desire the abolition of Slavery. Near the end of November, another Anti-Slavery Conference, called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, was held in London. It was well attended, and several ladies were recognized and admitted as delegates. Our friend, Mr. PILLSBURY, was present, also, at this Conference, by the courteous invitation of its Secretary, Mr. CHAMEROVZOW. This Conference, by a majority, refused an expression of sympathy to the American Anti-Slavery Society, or to so much as recognize its existence, and struck from its resolutions all but the most general reference to American Abolitionists. That Society asks no favors, at home or abroad, and surely had no reason to expect sympathy from men who, belonging to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, have been its most insidious and bitter enemies for fifteen years. But it was a question for those men to decide for themselves, whether they could honorably withhold a resolution of sympathy and regard from a Society, against which all that is vile and corrupt, all that is malignant, sectarian, and proscriptive, all that is oppressive and pro-slavery in our land, has been always, and perseveringly, and most bitterly arrayed. Mr. PILLSBURY, though weakened by his severe illness, made a most able defence of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, and demonstrated in the very ears of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, how unworthy and ungenerous their course, and that of their late Secretary, Mr. SCOBLE, had been, and how many obstacles they had thrown in the way of the abolition of Slavery, by their own *religious fellowship* and alliance with some of the worst Pro-Slavery sects in America. Mr. PILLSBURY established a new claim to the confidence, esteem, and love of American Abolitionists, by his manly and judicious course at the London Conference.

Nor will we forget to bear our testimony to the good work done by the London *Anti-Slavery Advocate*. With great ability and good judgment, clearness of moral vision, excellent spirit, and undeviating fidelity, this journal has maintained the cause of uncompromising Anti-Slavery. It is now in the third year of its existence. The best thanks of all the friends of true freedom are due to those who, at great personal sacrifice of time, labor, and money, have sustained it so long and so well.

We bring this paper to a close — already too long — by calling to our minds those of our associates — true and faithful spirits — who, during the past year, have been called from earth, and have "ceased from their labors" here. Among them we will mention but one — JOHN M. FISK, of West Brookfield. The son of an orthodox clergyman, and brought up in a rigid conformity to sectarian ideas and limits, the Anti-Slavery cause came to him as a severe trial and test of his humanity, and his reverence for God. It was a struggle, but he came out from it the victor. Compelled to choose between fidelity to God and to conscience on the one side, and the favor and fellowship of a powerful but Pro-Slavery church on the other, he did not hesitate, but boldly and nobly declared for Freedom, for Truth, and for the Downfall of Oppression of every kind. In the long contest he was called to

wage with the Pro-Slavery church in his town, he maintained his position with singular ability and skill, and with entire success. For many years he served the Anti-Slavery cause with a spirit of most exemplary devotedness, with a rare judgment, and with a large charity to all who differed. As President, or Secretary, or Treasurer of the *Worcester County South Anti-Slavery Society*, (for at different times he held all these offices,) he was the best officer that Society ever had — as we think all its members will cheerfully agree. He was long a Vice-President of this Society, and one who, in every position, won the confidence and respect of the friends of the cause. A painful and long-protracted disease deprived us of his active coöperation for several of his last years; but his heart was right and true to the end. His body was taken for funeral services into the identical church which, in the vigor of his life and in obedience to the voice of God in his soul, he had renounced and come out from, because of its determined participation in the sin of enslaving millions of their fellow men. In that house, a Pro-Slavery minister, and one who, within twenty-four hours, refused so much as to read a notice of a lecture by one who had been an American Slave, went through a service in mockery of all true religion, meanly taking advantage of the death-closed lips of our friend, to beseech the people of that church to *forgive* the deceased his sin of causing dissensions among them, and now that he was dead, to forget him, his example, his rebukes of their faithlessness, and his labors for the oppressed, as fast as possible — burying all in his yet open grave; for, if not the exact words, this was the substance and spirit of them. But the people of that town and vicinity will not forget JOHN M. FISK. They knew his truthful, disinterested, benevolent, honorable character too well to bury it out of their recollection at the call of a time-serving priest. And, for ourselves, we are thankful to have known him, and to have been honored by his friendship and fellowship And we rejoice in the belief that an unclouded vision now has opened to his eyes, which no disease can dim. May his memory be to us a blessed one, and one of the rich inheritances we have derived from our noble cause — a cause which brings Freedom to our own souls, no less than to the down-trodden Slave.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,

General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

PROCEEDINGS.

Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, 1855.

This meeting convened at the Melonaon Hall, in Boston, Thursday, the 25th instant, at 10 o'clock, A. M., the President, FRANCIS JACKSON, in the chair.

A Business Committee was chosen, consisting of WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, WM. WELLS BROWN, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, ANNE W. WESTON, NANCY L. HOWES, CHARLES L. REMOND, HENRY C. WRIGHT, and NATHANIEL H. WHITING.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr. and WM. H. FISH were appointed Assistant Secretaries.

Prayer was offered by WM. H. FISH, of Hopedale.

The General Agent, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., read an encouraging statement of the operations of the Society for the past year, giving a brief notice of the labors of the various agents employed, and urging the importance of keeping many such faithful servants constantly in the field. The action of Boston, under the direction of its Mayor and other officers, in the BURNS case, was plainly and severely, but justly, commented upon, as were also the special labors of Rev. Drs. LORD and NEHEMIAH ADAMS, in behalf of the *endangered* Despotism. Mr. MAY's statement concluded with an impressive tribute of respect to the late JOHN M. FISK, of West Brookfield, who had long been a faithful friend and officer of the Society.

On motion of EDMUND QUINCY, it was *Voted*, that the Report of Mr. MAY be referred to the Board of Managers for the ensuing year; but before this motion was put, JOHN C. CLUER wished to make a suggestion.

He regretted that while Mr. MAY had very justly condemned the men of foreign birth who participated in the rendition of BURNS, he had neglected to mention those Yankee blacklegs of Boston, who were his especial guards. Mr. CLUER considered Mayor SMITH as the chief of these Boston villains, and he desired the fact to be known across the ocean.

Mr. MAY replied that he had had no design to exempt any man, American or otherwise, from deserved execration, who took part in the delivery of ANTHONY BURNS into slavery; as he thought a glance at his Report would show.

Mr. QUINCY's motion was unanimously adopted.

Mr. QUINCY suggested some change in the manner of holding the Annual Meeting, as, adopting the method of the American Society, viz: to commence with a general meeting, for which the best speakers should be previously

engaged and prepared, and publicly advertised. The city would thus be thoroughly notified and aroused.

G. W. Putnam, of Lynn, objected to having a meeting arranged beforehand, thinking it would infringe upon free speech.

Mr. Garrison commented upon the refusal of the House of Representatives to grant the use of the Hall for a single meeting of this Society, and thought that, though their chief reason, on the face of it, viz: that it was closed to *all* parties, seemed plausible enough, it was somewhat like Herod's requirement that *all* the children of a certain age should be destroyed, in order that they might be sure to slay the one most objectionable to them, and dangerous to their existence.

Mr. Garrison, chairman of the Business Committee, presented the following resolutions: —

1. *Resolved*, That while we rejoice in every indication of an approximation, on the part of public men, or of religious or political bodies, to the standard of uncompromising abolitionism, and are ever ready to give credit to whom credit is due, for any real service that may be done to the anti-slavery cause; we, nevertheless, feel constrained to admonish all men and all parties, that no incidental labor, no partial issue, no struggle against slaveholding aggressions upon the rights of the North, can be a substitute for the duty of seeking the immediate and utter extirpation of the slave system, and separating ourselves from all participancy in the guilt thereof.

2. *Resolved*, That institutions are for men, and not men for institutions; therefore all institutions, whether in Church or State, that cannot exist without enslaving men, ought to be, and must be, destroyed.

Mr. Garrison spoke of the general charge made against Abolitionists, that they are *uncharitable;* but he believed they were always ready to do justice to any man who should do any true anti-slavery work, in whatsoever way he might do it. We are contending, however, he said, with a united and uncompromising Despotism, and we must be as uncompromising as that. It was a good thing to be opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law, the Nebraska Bill, and to give succor to fugitives; but commendable as these acts are, genuine anti-slavery covers broader ground than this; and those who make the charge of uncharitableness should remember that it is not a question of charity at all, but of right. Abolitionism, he insisted, is to *hate slavery* for others as we should hate it for ourselves; and to repudiate and oppose whatever upholds slavery.

Mr. Phillips said, if we accept any half-way anti-slavery without criticism, we shall fail to meet the demands of the time. He would acknowledge many things as a gain to the anti-slavery cause, that could not be regarded as at all an anti-slavery triumph. The *political* action needed is not that a great deal of ground should be gone over superficially, but that some one thing should be done *thoroughly*. He asked for the result of the partial anti-slavery action of the country. It is the Fugitive Slave Bill, and the Nebraska Bill, and it will, by and by, be Cuba. Under its influence, the country was lost for freedom; the Slave Power has the control, and Senators and Representatives can only ineffectually protest. He insisted, therefore, that the great need is an example of anti-slavery; — a commonwealth or a city

that should be a model for the world. The true policy is to keep before the country our ultimate ends, and this is the only method of success. The question is not whether Mr. A. or B. is a great man, an eloquent man, but whether he is an uncompromising Abolitionist. Reform movements are necessarily aggressive, and they should draw up every man's method to the ring-bolt of a rigid scrutiny. When our anti-slavery enterprise shall become tame and compromising, it should be put out of the way.

James N. Buffum, of Lynn, expressed his approbation of the first resolution, and thought that if the sentiment and philosophy of our movement were known, they would find a wide response among the people. He referred to Frederick Douglass, who had lately been on a lecturing visit to Lynn, when he undertook to represent Garrisonianism, but most shamefully *mis*-represented it. He wished to protest against such labors of Mr. Douglass, and to bear his own testimony in favor of uncompromising anti-slavery.

Mr. Putnam attempted an explanation of Mr. Douglass's lecture somewhat different from Mr. Buffum's, and in defence of Mr. D. He also spoke in reprobation of the late Manchester (England) Anti-Slavery Conference, for refusing a hearing to Joseph Barker.

John C. Cluer said that Joseph Barker was put down at the Manchester meeting on account of his religious and philanthropic views, strongly, earnestly, and eloquently expressed. The men who prevented his speaking were not lovers of *universal* freedom. But he himself had stuck by old organized anti-slavery in this country, and the Luther leaders of it, because he had always found them loyal to liberty under all circumstances. He knew Mr. Garrison in England, and knew him to be as true there as at home; and he cherished the highest regard for both him and Mr. Phillips. But he loved the cause they represented better than he loved them.

On motion of Mr. May, Committees on Finance, and upon the Officers of the Society for the ensuing year, were appointed, as follows: —

On Finance — Lewis Ford, Elbridge Sprague, Reuben H. Ober, Sallie Holley, and Samuel Dyer.

On Nomination of Officers — Edmund Quincy, of Dedham; Ebenezer D. Draper, of Milford; Briggs Arnold, of Abington; John Clement, of Townsend; Joshua G. Dodge, of West Cambridge; William Ashby, of Newburyport; Elias Richards, of Weymouth.

Mr. Garrison, in speaking of Frederick Douglass, simply said that Mr. Douglass was in such a state of mind as unfitted him to represent the views which he (Mr. Garrison) held on any subject. As to the case of Joseph Barker, at the Manchester Conference, he thought that Mr. B. was *not* prevented from speaking in consequence of his peculiar views, but because he was not in order, according to British ruling in such cases. This Mr. Garrison felt himself bound in justice to say.

William Wells Brown coincided with Mr. Garrison's view of Mr. Barker's case, and as he was present, he deemed it well to state his convictions on the subject. The floor belonged to Samuel R. Ward, and the chair simply so decided. The meeting would not have refused Mr. Barker a hearing on the ground of his supposed heretical views, and did so solely to maintain

a point of order. This he said was the view of the matter which GEORGE THOMPSON took.

Mr. PUTNAM had got his impression of the case of Mr. BARKER, principally from Mr. BARKER'S own letter, and Mr. GARRISON'S comments on it; but he was glad to hear Mr. BROWN'S explanation, though not entirely satisfactory to him.

AFTERNOON. The PRESIDENT in the chair.

Mr. GARRISON read the resolutions presented to the meeting in the morning.

FRANCIS JACKSON, in the absence of the Treasurer, Mr. PHILBRICK, read the Treasurer's Report, as audited; from which it appears that the receipts of the past year were $8,735.27. Expenditures, $8,066.77.

Voted, To accept the report and publish it.

Mr. GARRISON thought that, notwithstanding all the labors of the Abolitionists, there are few who comprehend the magnitude of the anti-slavery movement. This movement at first was simply in behalf of the three millions of slaves in our land; but now it is far wider in its scope and object. The slaveholding spirit is the universal spirit of the land, therefore it is that the Government and the Church are pro-slavery. The first thing to be understood, then, is human nature and the rights of man; — man's superiority to all institutions. And this is what the anti-slavery movement, in the Providence of God, is emphatically and impressively teaching the nation. Whatever institution outlaws men, we must so treat it that it shall outlaw us too. This thought he enlarged upon in his usually searching and effective manner.

HENRY C. WRIGHT responded to Mr. GARRISON'S remarks, and said he would belong to no institution that outlawed man, but would labor for the overthrow of all such institutions. The great object of the anti-slavery movement is to rescue man from the thraldom of institutions. These views Mr. WRIGHT enlarged upon for a short time, and was listened to with attention and evident interest.

WM. WELLS BROWN said that the Slave Power had, from the first, used all its resources to sustain itself and its reputation for respectability. Its policy has been to *buy* up whatever stood in its way — politicians and ministers especially. He instanced Dr. NEHEMIAH ADAMS as an illustration of the way in which the South buys up the ministers.

Mr. BROWN thought he knew about as much of slavery as Dr. ADAMS, and could give quite as accurate a view of the subject. He had been a slave himself for twenty years, and he would undertake to examine some of the Rev. gentleman's positions and assertions. This work of criticism Mr. BROWN did up much to the interest and satisfaction of his hearers, and to the detriment of his dissected reverence. Had Dr. ADAMS been present, we think he would have felt himself to be a very insignificant personage before this graduate of the plantation, and we could wish him no greater *justice* than to have to meet Mr. BROWN on the anti-slavery platform. Mr. BROWN closed with some interesting remarks on the anti-slavery sentiment of Great Britain, and upon the importance of laboring to strip slavery of its social and religious character.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, presented the following resolutions: —

3. *Resolved*, That as even the atrocious Fugitive Slave Law was overruled, by Divine Providence, to accomplish an effective anti-slavery work, so the misstatements of fact, the perversions of reasoning, the eulogies of slavery, the libels against freedom, and the caricatures of religion, contained in the Rev. NEHEMIAH ADAMS'S "South-Side View of Slavery," may be expected to produce a similar result, and, in that view, are commended to the thorough and attentive perusal of every Abolitionist.

4. *Resolved*, That those who remain inactive, for fear of the "consequences" of the abolition of slavery, may profitably note, in Dr. ADAMS'S hints at the desirableness of introducing slavery at the North, and of re-establishing the *foreign* slave-trade, some *consequences* of apostacy from freedom.

5. *Resolved*, That those who have doubted the testimony of anti-slavery lecturers, that the clergy are the chief bulwark of slavery, strongest in opposition to those who are laboring for its removal, and farthest of the whole community from favoring radical reform in the case of popular sins, may find in this book one more item of evidence on those points.

6. *Resolved*, That the open and thorough falsehood of Dr. ADAMS'S pretence, that his course of action and general influence, public and private, before his three months' visit at the South, had been against slavery, is an absolute bar to the favorable construction of some of his critics, that, in writing and publishing this book, he had been candid and well-meaning, though not intelligent, and had shown weakness rather than wickedness.

7. *Resolved*, That the unimpaired good standing of President LORD, Dr. ADAMS, and Dr. BLAGDEN, with the clergymen and laymen of their sect, and their continued reception as competent teachers of piety and morality in their respective parishes since their recent advocacy of slavery, give us renewed evidence of the hollowness and falsehood of the popular religion, and the need of replacing it by true Christianity.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER thought one of the objects of the annual meeting should be to lay out business for the future. He would therefore lay before his hearers a plan of operations, and the motives in which they should be adopted. He thought the first need is *enthusiasm*, without which we could do little or nothing. This point Mr. FOSTER enlarged upon with an enthusiasm that seemed to diffuse itself through the audience, and to be a perfect illustration of the truth of his position. But he thought that not only enthusiasm, but some new form of anti-slavery action, should be presented to the people, at this crisis. He believed the time had come in which all men should be denied the possession of an anti-slavery character who support the United States Government. He acknowledged that he himself had sinned in this matter, having recognized such men as CHARLES SUMNER, and JOHN P. HALE, as abolitionists; but he could do so no more. This declaration of Mr. FOSTER elicited a considerable and earnest discussion about Mr. SUMNER'S position, and the character of the United States Constitution; in the midst of which, the meeting adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

EVENING. The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

GEORGE W. PUTNAM commenced the services of the evening with an anti-slavery song.

S. S. Foster resumed the remarks commenced by him in the afternoon: — As to Mr. Sumner's character as a man, which was under discussion in the afternoon, he was willing to concede all in reference to that, that his warmest friends could claim for him; but his position as a professed anti-slavery man, he felt himself under obligation to oppose. He supposed Mr. Sumner to hold, *in the main*, the popular views of the Constitution; hence, in carrying out these views, he must of necessity occupy the position of a pro-slavery man. His saying that he is an abolitionist, does not, of course, make him so; for, if he stands pledged to put to death men who rise in insurrection to secure their liberty, he is as much a slaveholder, in that respect, as ever was Henry Clay. In answer to a question from a hearer, Mr. Foster said he would have such a government for his brethren as he would have for himself; and he would never, God helping him, hold up his right hand to swear allegiance to a government, the worst of whose laws he would not willingly have executed on himself and his family. He believed too, that the great work of abolitionists, for the coming year, should be the overthrow of the American Government, and that Free Soilers should be rebuked and denounced for their support of it. He urged the importance of forming a new political party, on the basis of the Constitution of Massachusetts, wholly ignoring the Constitution of the United States.

He said, that such a Congress as the Americans have, was not a body for an honest abolitionist to be connected with. Gerrit Smith, he said, tried it, but soon got sick of the business of legislating with the pirates, and very properly turned his back upon them.

Mr. Foster also gave an account of his recent trial in Worcester, which was listened to with much interest; and closed his remarks with offering the following resolution: —

Resolved, That the time has come, when the friends of freedom who believe in political action can render essential service to our cause by the organization of a political party based upon the State Constitutions, and ignoring the Federal Government, thereby presenting, in a tangible form, the commencement of a political revolution, which is essential to the overthrow of slavery, and the success of which is sure to be followed with that glorious result.

Mr. Phillips being now rapturously applauded as he entered the house, and called upon for a speech, said he had nothing special to say, but he had just been listening to a *great* speech from Mr. Emerson — one of the greatest and bravest ever made in the city of Boston, or in New England. Mr. Emerson, he said, had showed himself to be a man, whom literary fame had never tempted to a wrong, and whom the opinions of his fellow citizens never fettered. Mr. Phillips then passed to the subject of Slavery, and was more than ordinarily eloquent. He hoped, he said, we should yet have a *Massachusetts*, and we might have, if we only had a dozen clean men to make it. He thought that, in order for Mr. Sumner and his friends to accomplish the needed work, they must take substantially Lysander Spooner's view of the Constitution — such a view as would not only

unseat Franklin Pierce, but Chief Justice Taney. This eloquent speech he closed by calling upon his hearers to exert themselves to save at least one State from the general wreck, to bear aloft the true standard, and lead the way to Freedom.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock, Friday.

FRIDAY.

Francis Jackson, President, in the chair, and a good audience in attendance.

Wm. H. Fish offered some remarks against the spirit of violence which manifests itself in the anti-slavery movement.

George W. Putnam spoke briefly in reply to Mr. Fish, advocating war and violence, under certain circumstances.

Abby K. Foster said, the great thing needed is to get the people *ready* to do anti-slavery work; and when they get ready to do it, they will, of course, do it in their own way. But very few are up to the point of fighting for freedom, if they have the disposition; and she did not believe that even Worcester was prepared to protect the slave by force of arms. We ought, then, to go to work and get up such a public sentiment as will itself give safety to the fugitive. Agitation should be our motto; and this was our work, which work she described in an unusually interesting and impressive manner, that held the attention of her audience to the end. Her speech was one of the noblest of the whole meeting, and made a deep moral impression.

Mr. May spoke of the necessity of a hearty co-operation of all the friends of the Society in contributions to sustain it during the ensuing year.

The Finance Committee proceeded to take pledges and donations to the Society.

Rev. James Freeman Clarke, on rising to speak, said, he was once in a Water-Cure establishment, in which he noticed one peculiarity, which was, that just before they were getting well, they were worse. A crisis preceded cure. So it might be in the anti-slavery movement. Certain it is, that many bad things were just now coming upon the surface. Some of these bad things he had in his pocket — Dr. Adams's "South-Side View," and President Lord's Letter of Inquiry to Christian Ministers. When such things, he said, were coming upon the surface, it was a good sign — a sign that there is something good near at hand. When we see men putting up bulwarks and making preparations for defence, it is a sure sign that their citadel is thought to be in danger. Anti-slavery men ought, therefore, to "thank God and take courage."

Mr. Clarke did not wish to see the Union dissolved, but he preferred dissolution to the continuance of slavery. His brief speech was a good one, and an acceptable offering to the cause.

The following resolution, from the Business Committee, was presented by Mr. May: —

8. *Resolved*, That we desire to express, in this public gathering of the abolitionists of Massachusetts, our profound appreciation of the rare sagacity, fidelity, and clear-sightedness of our friend, PARKER PILLSBURY, during his tour through Great Britain — our sincere sympathy in his severe illness, and our deep gratitude for his constant, unintermitted efforts to serve the slave, shield his best friends from slander and misrepresentation, and turn the eyes of British abolitionists upon the only efficient method to emancipate him; and we recommend Mr. PILLSBURY to the entire confidence of our British friends, as one whom observation, long experience, constant presence in the anti-slavery field during many years, insight into the philosophy of our cause, and disinterested fidelity to it, have made a most reliable witness on every part of the anti-slavery movement.

AFTERNOON. FRANCIS JACKSON in the Chair.

HENRY C. WRIGHT, in commencing the speaking in the afternoon, said, that he always found it a great help, in the presentation of the anti-slavery enterprise, to have a few well-defined axioms; and he proceeded to state some of these axioms, and to comment upon them.

On behalf of Mr. GARRISON, (who was confined to his house by a sudden illness,) Mr. WRIGHT presented the following resolutions: —

Whereas, The Rev. Drs. LORD, ADAMS, and BLAGDEN, profess to believe that the institution of chattel slavery, as it exists in this country, is sanctioned both by "natural and revealed religion;" that the slaves are in a desirable condition, kindly cared for and protected by their masters, and requiring no special sympathy or aid to deliver them from the authority exercised over them; and that the slaveholders, instead of being guilty of injustice, cruelty, and immorality, are exemplary citizens, and, in many cases, excellent Christians; therefore,

9. *Resolved*, That it is to be deeply regretted, that those reverend Doctors cannot be transferred to Southern plantations, to fill the places of those noble spirits in bondage, whose aspirations are continually for freedom, and who are only waiting for the first favorable opportunity to assert their manhood, by flight to Canada.

10. *Resolved*, That an exhibition of these impious vindicators of the "sum of all villainies," on the auction-block, at public vendue, to be knocked down to the highest bidder, — or their subjection to the lash of the slave-driver, or the seizure of their wives and children for the purposes of lust and robbery, never again to meet on earth, — would in one moment purge their moral vision, enlighten their understanding, and satisfy them, beyond cavil, that slavery is from beneath, and that no apologist or defender thereof could, by any possibility, be a follower of JESUS CHRIST, or rationally hope for salvation, without thorough repentance.

Whereas, Southern Slavery, by its own code, and not by any abuses, is the abolition of the marriage institution, and, therefore, a volcano of lewdness, in full and constant operation — is the denial of the right of its victims, under terrible penalties, to learn to read the name of their Heavenly Father, or to "search the Scriptures," in accordance with the injunction of his Beloved Son — is a classification of those who are made "a little lower than the angels," with cattle, swine, and other articles of merchandize — is the annihilation of all personal and individual rights — is the desecration of all the sacred relations of life, recognizing neither father nor mother, neither

husband nor wife, neither parent nor child * — and is, finally, in the fullest and most awful sense, the exaltation of the tyrannical master "above all that is called God," to the utter extinction, in the minds of his victims, of all sense of moral accountability to the Final Judge of quick and dead; therefore,

11. *Resolved*, That, making (as they do,) no issue with the slave code, and endeavoring to counteract the humane efforts of those who are striving to overthrow the slave system by "the sword of the spirit which is the word of God," the Rev. Drs. Lord, Adams, and Blagden, give the clearest evidence to the world, that their spirits are impure, that their reverence for the Bible is a mockery, that they are yet unable to discriminate between a man and a sheep, that they are the unblushing enemies of freedom and equality, and that they ought to be "hissed out of their places" as the professed ministers of Him who came to "preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound." And let all the people say, Amen!

Stephen S. Foster expressed his gratitude for the friendly criticism of which he was the subject in the morning. He justified that criticism as being legitimate to the anti-slavery platform. But he thought he could defend any course of action he had pursued and recommended, as consistent. On the same principle that Mr. Fish held him (Mr. Foster) amenable to his professed non-resistance principle, he held professed fighting abolitionists amenable to their principles. Mr. Foster argued this point in his usual logical manner. He also spoke at length on various phases of the anti-slavery movement, and frequently called forth great applause from the audience.

The Committee appointed to nominate Officers of the Society, made a Report. [See *Officers of the Society*, page 21.]

James N. Buffum thought, in reference to Mr. Foster's plan, that it is a dangerous thing to go into a political party; and he hoped, therefore, that the Massachusetts Society would still maintain its original position, and continue to labor chiefly to remould public sentiment.

Henry Kemp, a Roman Catholic, came forward to defend the Romish Church, in reply to Mr. Foster. He claimed that the Catholic Church is thoroughly anti-slavery — as thoroughly as even his friend Foster. Various Popes, he said, had condemned slavery, and called upon the faithful everywhere, in the name of Almighty God, to put it entirely away from them. Hence he considered Archbishop Hughes, and all the professed Catholics of America, who sympathize with, and aid the Slave power, as *excommunicated heretics*. He thought himself about the only representative of the true Catholic Church in this country. He took the highest anti-slavery ground, and was listened to with much interest.

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* In the language of Rev. Dr. Breckenridge, in the Kentucky Convention a few years since, "no woman is the wife of any husband in particular, and no man is the husband of any woman in particular; no child is the child of any parent in particular, and no parent is the parent of any child in particular." To the entire speech of Dr. Breckenridge, the well known Presbyterian minister of Kentucky, we would specially direct the attention of the Rev. Drs. Lord, Blagden, and Adams, if it could be supposed that they are not already perfectly familiar with it, and with the universally recognized facts of the adultery, fornication, and lust, inseparably connected with the slave system.

Evening. Edmund Quincy in the Chair.

George W. Putnam read an original anti-slavery poem, which was received with considerable applause; and was published in the Liberator of February 2, 1855.

Mr. Bradley, a young colored man, of Boston, rose to speak against the project of Mr. Foster, for a new political party. He had long been a political man, and he claimed the honor of originating the Liberty Party! He gave quite a complacent account of his early labors in the cause, and his influence over some of the anti-slavery political leaders of New York. He also alluded to Frederick Douglass, and spoke of him as a prodigal son, who had turned away from his first love, and from the friends that made him all that he is.

Rev. Mr. Hodges, of Watertown, (late of Barre,) came forward, by the urgent request of friends, without pre-meditation, to define his position, though a *minister*, as that of an uncompromising Abolitionist. He gave in his adhesion to the principles of the disunion party, and thought these principles the only ones that could save the country.

Wm. Wells Brown said that he should prove to his hearers this evening, that he possessed one qualification of a good speaker — *brevity*. He stood on that platform to represent both the African and Anglo-Saxon races — his mother being an African, his father an Anglo-Saxon slaveholder. But he stood up *free* by virtue of British liberality, which purchased him from American Despotism. This freedom he used for a half hour, with some general but excellent and stirring remarks upon the subject of slavery, interspersing various exceedingly interesting facts and anecdotes from his European tour, experience, and observation.

Mr. May offered the following resolution, the vote upon which he moved should be taken by rising : —

12. *Resolved*, That this Society would render its tribute of respect to the memory of the late John M. Fisk, of West Brookfield — to his early and disinterested choice of the anti-slavery cause, and his steadfast adherence to it in every trial, and notwithstanding the bitter personal animosity of opponents ; to his excellent judgment, sound discretion, and resolute firmness in maintaining the justice, moral necessity, and essential Christianity of the anti-slavery movement; — to the spirit of noble independence which he manifested, in separating himself from a pro-slavery and powerful church, and in openly and unequivocally exposing their guilty connection with slavery ; and to the generous friendship and aid which, through a long period of years, he rendered to this Society, its agents, and its operations. Although his last years were years of suffering, from disease, yet his testimony to freedom abode firm to the last. Unsympathizing relatives carried his lifeless body, for funeral services, into the church which he renounced in his lifetime, and from which every cause dear to his soul had always been shut out, and there a canting priest meanly presumed upon the fact that his lips were closed in death, to beg the people to forgive his many offences and great presumption in opposing the church and creating dissensions in it. But those of us who have known him long and well prize his memory as that of a true and noble spirit, whose life of courage and true devotion to the right is a rich legacy and a high encouragement to all who remain to carry on his labors.

Wendell Phillips then came forward, amid much cheering, and delivered an eloquent speech, of which the following is a brief sketch : —

Our cause, said Mr. PHILLIPS, has received many a baptism. I do not know one more sacred than the memory of those who have served it faithfully, and gone before us. The baptism of the dead, to whose memory fidelity to their principles is the only eulogy that we can pay them! Most of you who sit before me never knew the man to whose worth we have just paid this feeble tribute; but those of us who did, must feel life to have a stronger tie to Truth, to Justice, to Humanity, and to God, in the memory that we were once permitted to serve with him. A shining light — a bold hand — a brave heart — a generous spirit — a keen insight into the defects of the institutions about him — a noble devotedness to the poor — a life spent, not wasted, in serving the best interests of his generation! It is the noblest baptism that such a cause as ours can have. And, friends, the narrower the circle becomes, let us draw the closer together — closer in earnestness and perseverance — life-long, unflinching, uncompromising, manly, Christian perseverance. And let us not forget, in the sympathy that fugitive slave cases stir within us — let us not forget the mass, the great, black mass, of the subject itself. We talked to-day and yesterday a great deal about the protection Massachusetts can give to the fugitive slave within her borders; but we have a greater duty than that to perform, before we have begun to pay our debt to the slave. Slavery exists because the nation exists — because the union exists; Massachusetts is part of it, and will not clean her hand and conscience when she has made it safe for the fugitive slave to dwell in Boston, and tell his name. We have got to make it a fact, that every breeze that sweeps from the Carolinas no longer gathers up the sighs of broken hearts, before we can pretend to have done our duty to the slaves of this land.

Mr. PHILLIPS proceeded, in a speech somewhat over an hour in length, to describe the influence of the Slave Power over the politics and morals of the country — the legitimate and almost inevitable result of the fatal compromises made by the fathers of the Republic — and enforced the necessity of a dissolution of the Union, to secure the freedom of the slave. All history taught that slavery would not have been in existence to-day at the South, if it had not been for the Union. The Union saved it. Had those States remained colonies, WILBERFORCE, and CLARKSON, and GEORGE THOMPSON, and the Abolitionists of 1834, would have saved us the trouble of abolishing slavery, for they would have abolished it. If South Carolina had carried out her threat of joining the British, her slavery would have gone down when the anti-slavery party triumphed in London; and if she had not joined the British, but remained a separate colony, slavery would have been abolished, as in Mexico and South America, from the nature of things. It was a self-evident truth, almost, on the pages of history, that the formation of this Union preserved Slavery; it was the only thing that could have saved it. Where was the State that had made one single step toward the abolition of slavery since the Union? New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania — all the great States — had commenced their movement toward emancipation as early as 1780 — some as early as 1776. They had gone on, but no State that had not made her commencement before 1787,

had ever abolished slavery. Was not that a prominent fact? One single atom has been added to the chemical compound, and the whole action of the body changes; had they not a right to infer that that atom, which was added at that specific moment, had influenced the decision of the question?

Mr. PHILLIPS then alluded to the position taken by Mr. SUMNER, and other Free Soilers, that our fathers were too good ever to have framed a wicked Constitution. Admitting that theory to be correct, for a moment, what had been the result? The first Chief Justice of the United States was JOHN JAY, a man who set the example to the State of New York, by emancipating his own slaves — a man who might be considered almost the first Abolitionist among the statesmen of America. The first Chancellor of Virginia was WYTHE — a man whom his heirs poisoned, in order to prevent him from making a will emancipating his slaves. The first Democratic President was a man who left it on record that when the slaves rose against their masters, there would not be an attribute of the Almighty to take the side of the oppressor! Could they elect a man to be President of the United States to-day who should say that? Nominate whoever they pleased — from Maine to Georgia, from the ocean back to Kansas — let him be as unknown as FRANKLIN PIERCE was before his nomination — and let him (Mr. PHILLIPS,) be able to stereotype through the thirty States, the fact, that somewhere, in a village school-house, he had uttered that sentiment of Jefferson, and how great would be his chances?

The eloquent speaker illustrated this point at some length, and said — "Now, we are going to start again; we are going to launch our ship for a new voyage. Ninety men out of a hundred allow that the Constitution is pro-slavery; every great statesman in the country admits there are pro-slavery clauses there; you will allow that we have got a pro-slavery people behind it; you will allow that the masses in the pulpit, in the editors' chairs, the masses in the political parties, the wealth of the country, the great men who make up what are called its leaders — all these are on the side of slavery, at the present moment; the Constitution is allowedly bad, and yet you say there is a bright anti-slavery future before us! We had a *good* Constitution, and a *good* people, and we went to wreck; — we have got a *bad* Constitution, and a *devilish* people, and we shall succeed! Is there any logic in that? PATRICK HENRY said — 'There is but one light by which my feet are guided, and that is the light of experience.' By that light the abolitionist walks, in seeking the dissolution of the American Union."

Mr. PHILLIPS said, in relation to the proposition to organize a new party, to make Massachusetts a free State, that they should stereotype the enthusiasm of the people into statutes, make public sympathy recognized as the law of Massachusetts, and swear every public officer of the State to stand by it. He wanted the laws and organizations on his side; he did not want that sympathy only, which might die out to-morrow. He wanted the same protection thrown around the fugitive slave that was afforded to the person and property of ABBOTT LAWRENCE — a protection that would follow the trespasser to the ends of the earth. (Loud cheers.) He wanted a judiciary that

should know that their first duty — if not their whole duty — was to protect every living man that walks on the soil of Massachusetts. (Renewed cheers.)

One great advantage of the disunion position was, that it required no explanation. The man that held office under a Government like ours, the man that swore the same oath that FRANKLIN PIERCE does, and BENJAMIN HALLETT, could not be considered an Abolitionist, unless he explains himself. A man is judged by the company he keeps, and such a man had got to go through his daily routine with a perpetual "but" in his mouth. "I swear to support the Constitution — *but*." His outside is a lie; God grant the inside be true! He (Mr. P.) had a friend who attended the Peace Congress in Paris, some years ago. He was a South Carolinian by birth, but had resided in New England, and had become an Abolitionist. One day, while in Paris, another South Carolinian approached him, and said he — "Mr. So-and-So, we must have one of these World's Conventions to further the patriarchal institution — to get the moral sense of the world on its side." His friend did not know how he could tell him, emphatically enough, that he was an Abolitionist, and so send him at a tangent to the other end of the moral world. He did not wish to say simply, "I am an Abolitionist" — that was not emphatic enough; so he said — "Perhaps you do n't know me. I was born in Charleston, South Carolina, it is true; but I board with GARRISON, and am engaged to be married to FREDERICK DOUGLASS's sister!" (Loud laughter and applause.) That did n't need any explanation; the man never came to see him afterwards. That was a literal lie, but it had the essence of an emphatic truth in it; as AMELIA OPIE might say, it did not have the intention to deceive. It told the whole truth. That was just what the disunion doctrine does. If a man asked them what they thought of the Constitution, let them reply — "It is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell," and he would put on his hat and be off. He would understand them at once; and would not trouble them with questions about the Free Soil party, or the Liberty party, or any other party. They had got through the catechism.

This notion of dissolution, said Mr. PHILLIPS, is not a bugbear. It will come in due time. If I do not see it myself, I know there will be somebody that will go at last to the grave of GARRISON, (if it come not while he yet lives,) and acknowledge that he was right. I hope that God will grant, that when the first gun sounds that proclaims Massachusetts a sovereign State, GARRISON's living ear will echo it, and he will be able to say — "*Jubilee! — Praised be God!*" (Great applause.)

The resolution offered by S. S. FOSTER was, on motion of WENDELL PHILLIPS, laid upon the table.

The other resolutions, not already passed upon, were then adopted by a unanimous vote, and the Society adjourned, *sine die*.

☞ The total cash collections, by the Finance Committee, were $431.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President*.

WILLIAM H. FISH, }
SAMUEL MAY, JR., } *Assistant Secretaries*.

Dr. The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in account with Samuel Philbrick, Treasurer. Cr.

Receipts into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from January 1, 1855, to January 1, 1856.

Balance of last year's account,	$ 668 50
From Collections and Donations at Annual Meeting, in January,	433 22
" Proceeds of Anti-Slavery Fair, at Leominster,	104 08
" Concord Female Anti-Slavery Society,	40 00
" Reading Anti-Slavery Society,	16 00
" Proceeds of National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, in Boston,	3,819 23
" Worcester County South Anti-Slavery Society,	75 00
" Proceeds of second Bazaar, in Boston, in March,	566 80
" Donations and Collections at New Eng. Anti-Slavery Convention,	565 11
" Friends in Milford, Mendon, etc., for a portion of Fare taken from them as Passengers to the Meeting at Framingham, on the 4th of July, and refunded by the Boston and Worcester Railroad Company,	29 55
" Donations and Collections at Framingham Grove, on 4th of July,	68 17
" " " at Abington, 1st of August Celebration,	70 33
" Proceeds of Anti-Slavery Fair, at Worcester,	510 00
" " " " Abington,	243 69
" Weymouth Female Anti-Slavery Society,	75 00
" Donations and Pledges, and Collections by Agents, during the year, as published from time to time in the *Liberator*,	2,336 89
Total amount of receipts,	$ 9,621 57

The Disbursements, during the year, have been the following:—

To Stephen S. Foster, for his Services and Expenses as Agent,	$ 157 02
" Samuel May, Jr., for his Services and Travelling Expenses,	645 51
" Expenses of Annual Meeting, in Boston,	116 50
" Robert F. Wallcut, for his Services,	531 29
" Rent of Office, 21 Cornhill,	250 00
" Francis Jackson, Treasurer of American Anti-Slavery Society, per order of Board of Managers,	6,243 80
" Reporting at New England Convention,	60 00
" Printing,	73 87
" Sallie Holley, for her Services and Expenses as Agent,	590 55
" N. H. Whiting, " " "	21 00
" Transportation of Books to England,	7 54
" Expenses of New England Convention,	153 25
" William W. Brown, for Services and Expenses as Agent,	265 55
" Expenses of Fourth of July Celebration, at Framingham,	44 29
" " " " " Abington,	44 72
" Charles L. Remond, for Services as Agent,	8 41
" Per order of Board, for 1000 copies of Passmore Williamson's Trial,	15 00
" 150 copies of the Report of the Mob Celebration in Boston,	24 00
Total amount of disbursements,	$ 9,252 30
Leaving balance in Treasury, January 1, 1856,	369 27
E. E.	$ 9,621 57

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, TREASURER.

BOSTON, January 10, 1856.

I have examined the above account of the Treasurer, and find it correct, and properly vouched. EDMUND JACKSON, AUDITOR.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1856.

PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Andrew Robeson, New Bedford.
Edmund Quincy, Dedham.
Adin Ballou, Milford.
Joshua T. Everett, Princeton.
Effingham L. Capron, Worcester.
Jefferson Church, Springfield.
Oliver Gardner, Nantucket.
Henry I. Bowditch, Boston.
Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield.
Caroline Weston, Weymouth.
Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg.
George Miles, Westminster.
James N. Buffum, Lynn.
Cyrus Peirce, Newton.
John T. Hilton, Brighton.
Thomas T. Stone, Bolton.
Bourne Spooner, Plymouth.
William Ashby, Newburyport.
John Bailey, Lynn.
James Russell Lowell, Cambridge.
Richard Clap, Dorchester.
William Whiting, Concord.
Ezekiel Thatcher, Barnstable.
David P. Harmon, Haverhill.
Charles Lenox Remond, Salem.
John Clement, Townsend.
Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport.
Lewis Ford, Abington.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Leicester.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston.

TREASURER.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

AUDITOR.

EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

COUNSELLORS.

William Lloyd Garrison.
Wendell Phillips.
Maria Weston Chapman.
John Rogers.
Eliza Lee Follen.
Anne W. Weston.
Edmund Quincy.
Charles K. Whipple.
William I. Bowditch.
John T. Sargent.
Charles F. Hovey.
Charles E. Hodges.

ANNUAL STATEMENT

OF THE

General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting, January, 1856.

During the year 1855, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society has, to a greater extent than usual, divided with the American Anti-Slavery Society the work of cultivating the moral soil of New England, and of sowing on such good ground as could be found within its limits that seed-wheat of Truth, which, in accordance with the unchangeable laws of the Lord of the harvest, never fails to produce good fruits, even an hundred fold in the present life, and in the time to come a growth far more precious. Losing not one jot of hope or faith, and undeceived by the specious cries of "Lo, here! and lo, there!" which continually arise in various quarters, from such as think to find an easier road to justice and righteousness than by repentance of sin, and ceasing from all union with oppressors, — this Society has steadfastly pursued its way, laying the axe at the root of slavery, and exposing and rebuking the time-serving partizans, the sycophantic and servile editors, the hireling priests, who give their pens and voices to the advocacy or palliation of the Heaven-defying sin of slaveholding, and who invent every conceivable apology for the commission of crimes on which God, in Nature and in Revelation, has set the express seal of his abhorrence and condemnation. The work of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and of its associate Societies, can never be a popular work. When the truths it teaches shall be accepted by the people in reality, and its principles wrought out into living statutes and actual measures, its object will have been gained, its occupation will be gone, and it will have no longer a work and office to perform. Until that time, it must continue to do the thankless, yet necessary work, of showing the people their transgressions and their sins — of branding the respectable and wealthy criminals of the land with their just characters, and of facing the oppressor in high places with the plain and wholesome declaration, THOU ART THE MAN. The command of God, the voice of whatever in us is noble and divine, calls us to this work as our *duty*. We have accepted it as such, and the doing of it has already been made an exceeding great reward. Better than popularity, better than applause, better than all possible honors, is the inward satisfaction and peace which accompany a sincere devotion to this work, and an honest utterance of its so needful truths.

The work done in New England during the year past, though done in part under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as already sug-

gested, is also truly the work of this Society. Whenever the American Society has been able to give of its strength to the cause in New England, this Society has promptly spared to it such agents as might be in its employ, and has liberally (in proportion to its means,) contributed to sustain the work which the American Society was doing, both here and in several Western States besides. I shall not, therefore, speak of the anti-slavery work done in Massachusetts, and other New England States, the past year, as a divided work, but as one and the same, having one common spirit and purpose; though I shall designate, generally, the several fields occupied by the two Societies, respectively.

The following persons have acted as Agents of this Society during the past year, or of the American Anti-Slavery Society, coöperating with this: —

William W. Brown, Sallie Holley, Stephen S. Foster, Abby Kelley Foster, Charles C. Burleigh, Andrew T. Foss, Charles L. Remond, William H. Fish, Lewis Ford, Daniel S. Whitney, Nathaniel H. Whiting, and others. Messrs. Garrison, Quincy, and Phillips, have often, and generously, contributed their valuable aid. G. W. Putnam, of Lynn, has rendered good service to the cause. Rev. Robert Hassall, late of Mendon, has coöperated zealously and effectively with our Agents, acting himself occasionally as an agent of one of our County Societies, (the Worcester South,) and a few other Christian ministers have cheerfully and vigorously come to the help of our cause and our movement, among whom we gladly name Theodore Parker, James F. Clarke, D. A. Wasson, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Johnson, Daniel Foster, Elnathan Davis, Charles E. Hodges, and others, whom it would be a pleasure to name.

Every State in New England has been visited — some of them repeatedly and laboriously; every county in Massachusetts has been visited and gone over with more or less thoroughness, with the exception of the two island counties. Not fewer than 450 Conventions, County meetings, and town and village lectures, have been held or given; but earnest and thorough as these have doubtless been, how *few* are they amongst the large population of New England, and how greatly counteracted by the sophistries and moral opiates which the pulpits of New England, for the most part, are constantly administering on this subject! It has formed a considerable part of the business of the General Agent, to make the needful arrangements for the Conventions, lectures, &c., just spoken of, and to attend such of the former as he might be able. A large portion of his time is necessarily given to the interests of the cause beyond the limits of New England.

In this connection, I cannot fail to notice, and in doing so I desire to commend to the especial attention and regard of the members of this Society, the systematic distribution of the Tracts of the American Anti-Slavery Society, by the hands of colporteurs, so called. Want of funds alone has prevented the Society from pushing this measure on a much more extensive scale than as yet they have been able to do. Three colporteurs of the American Anti-Slavery Society have labored in Massachusetts during the year past, viz: Joseph A. Howland, Caroline F. Putnam, and Daniel S. Whit-

NEY, the last for a few weeks only. Miss PUTNAM has for the most part accompanied Miss HOLLEY in her lecturing tours, and has effectively commended the cause she serves wherever she has gone. Her distribution of the Tracts appears to have been wise, and her efforts to enlarge the Tract Publishing Fund have been comparatively successful. Mr. HOWLAND'S labors have been of the most persevering and uncompromising sort. He has travelled through town after town, (chiefly in Worcester County,) visiting every school-district therein, every house and shop, passing by none whom a word of counsel or instruction could reach, and has carried sound doctrine, the undiluted, unadulterated truth of God to many hearts and homes, where before it had been known but partially, if at all, on this subject. It is obvious that, in doing so minute and thorough a work, many disagreeable and painful experiences must occur, as well as those of an opposite description. These close personal inquiries and conferences did not fail to reveal much of the sources and nature of the opposition existing in the Northern States to the anti-slavery cause. At some future time, it may be that Mr. HOWLAND will prepare for publication in our papers, a record of his experiences as an anti-slavery colporteur and lecturer. Viewed only in a philosophical point, and with reference to the better study and understanding of the New England mind, and of those sectarian and clerical, or political and self-seeking influences which go to shape and form it, such a record would be a valuable one.

Seventeen different Tracts have been published in the Society's series, in addition to several not included in the regular series; and of these, a very great number have been scattered during the year past. They are highly valued by our friends as able essays and effective appeals. Still, a want is felt and expressed of some additional Tracts, briefer, more practical, more direct in their work upon the heart and conscience; some, also, which shall be specially adapted to children and young persons — interesting, adapted to their thoughts and feelings, and suited to make upon their young natures the moral impression, which, once made at that plastic time, is never effaced.

The *Tract Fund* is nearly exhausted. It needs replenishing and enlarging. Our friends should remember this fund. In nearly every town in New England, if a moderate effort were made, by an intelligent person resident in the town, a handsome sum might be collected for this fund; and many would contribute to it who would not help the cause in any other way. Our Tracts may safely challenge the scrutiny of the most fastidious and the most prejudiced. In respect of logical force, clear statement, abundant authority for their startling facts and disclosures, and moral and truly Christian character, they invite and will bear the closest inspection. Millions of their pages have gone over the land, doing a silent but irresistible work in behalf of justice and humanity; and we ask the true, the unselfish, the real friends of the anti-slavery cause, to continue their support of this work, and see to it that it does not languish and fail through their forgetfulness and lack of timely aid.

Among the other leading publications of our Society (or of the parent

Society,) during the past year are, *The Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society*, a work of the highest historical value — The Proceedings of the Meeting held to commemorate the *Twentieth Anniversary of the Boston Pro-Slavery Mob of* 1835 — and the *Liberty Bell*, published in connection with the Anti-Slavery Bazaar, of December last. These are, in an especial manner, works which anti-slavery men and women should procure, or aid in circulating through the community. They contain that truth, in rich and varied forms, which alone can make our people wise to their salvation as a people.

If, then, this Society should seem to any to have done less the past year than in former years, it is mainly because it has transferred its agents and means to other fields, where they have appeared to be more needed, or more likely to advance the common cause. It has contributed, more largely than usual, to the treasury of the Parent Society; and it has received in return a due share of that Society's efficient aid.

It has necessarily, therefore, fallen to the General Agent's lot, to have the sphere of his duties extended considerably beyond the State. But he has not felt, at any time, that he had ceased to be the Agent of Massachusetts Abolitionists, knowing that they would rejoice all the more when their principles were extended, and a portion of their contributions employed in proclaiming the gospel of freedom amongst thousands who have left their New England homes, or who have gathered from every quarter of the earth to found a nation in the far western land.

The past has been an eventful year in the history of our cause, and the present one opens with like prophecy. The struggles in Kansas, to found a State without slavery, are matters of daily and most eventful history; and every lover of freedom and true republicanism listens anxiously, yet hopingly, for every new report from that distant territory. How will the contest be decided? is a question of very deep significance. Believing it to be a contest of desperation on the slaveholders' part, we cannot but earnestly desire their defeat. Yet, we cannot conceal it from ourselves, that the too probable result will be, if Kansas be secured to a nominal freedom, that the vile American spirit of *compromise* will take possession of its councils, control its internal affairs, and govern its intercourse with the neighboring slave States; while, as a still more lamentable consequence, apathy will settle upon the whole Northern mind, satisfied with their seeming victory, but the end of which will be only to invite fresh insults and aggressions from the Southern despotism. No! there is no safety, as there is no honor and no right, in our *Union* with men stealers. No temporary advantage gained, while in that fatal fellowship, can be of any value. There is a sure way to terminate the strife, to terminate the whole vast complication of crimes at once; and that will come when the North takes itself out of the Union with the slaveholding and slave-trading States. That *must* terminate the wrong, for the South is unequal to maintaining it alone. She has acknowledged this again and again. She is daily declaring it now, by her desperate efforts to subject the whole North to her power, and thus bring all Northern capital and all North-

ern labor, the men and the money, which are the sinews of war, completely under her control.

As we sit here, and cast a backward glance on the year just gone, few things rise to the stern and ominous importance of the prison cell of PASSMORE WILLIAMSON. There is no mistaking or misunderstanding that case. Mr. WILLIAMSON not only did what any and every man of common decency and humanity might do and ought to do, but he did no more than the statute law of the State, on whose soil he lived and acted, in that case authorized him to do. But the Slave-despotism of the land dwelt in Philadelphia, incarnate in JOHN K. KANE; that despotism which cares for no Constitution, law, or reason; which, as Judge KANE very truly remarked, "knows of no law" (and does not mean to know of any) "of Pennsylvania," nor of any other State, to deprive the Southern Slaveholder of his property in his human chattels. PASSMORE WILLIAMSON'S manliness and humanity were manifest treason to the Power whose servant Judge KANE burned to prove himself. Mr. WILLIAMSON'S humiliation or incarceration — one or the other — was of course inevitable. The whole country looked on, Pennsylvania looked on, and saw her sovereignty trampled in the dust, her laws defied and trodden under foot, her noblest principles scouted and abjured. And for what? *To establish a North Carolina man's* RIGHT OF PROPERTY *in a woman and her two sons!* Away with the hypocrisy which prates of American liberty, and which insults the Creator and Saviour of mankind by sending missionaries to convert the people of Asia, Africa, and the South Sea Islands to our religion and morality! Unto us belong shame and confusion of face; for, as a nation, and as States, and as men and women, we have sinned most fearfully, and registered our own just condemnation. PASSMORE WILLIAMSON'S cell, like ANTHONY BURNS'S seizure and enslavement in Boston, is a too solid proof of what the Slave Power dares to attempt in our very Northern streets and houses, using our own brothers, and the very court-houses and prisons we have builded, for our own humiliation and subjection, — and not that only, but also what it can *successfully* attempt, and triumphantly achieve. Mr. WILLIAMSON'S martyr spirit, and calm and fearless bearing, whilst in the power of the tyrant's minion, will be ever memorable, and deserves our grateful honor; for it was that throughout which made the minion quail. But Slavery was triumphant in Pennsylvania, as she has again and again been in Massachusetts, and it yet remains to be seen whether their sons will redeem their character, and "scorn to be Slaves." The duty of the North to demand the impeachment of Judge KANE, is evident.

At least one great, hopeful sign stands forth before the nation. Two months has Congress been in session, unable to organize, unable to do the *national* work. Never before, at least in our day, have we seen the cheering sight of a Northern majority refusing to submit to a Southern minority. The South is aghast, and lost in astonishment; for it was not wont so to be done unto them. Now we see, what we have long desired to see, that a Northern "backbone" is not wholly a myth, or legend of other days. Let the result be what it may, this proof that the Northern spirit is arising, and that it will

yet assert its right, in the name of the living God, and without care for the idle cry of Disunion raised by her former Southern masters, — this proof, I say, is worth all it shall cost, ten times told. Never have Congressmen, in our day, earned their *per diem* so well.

In a brief sketch, like the present, no more can be done than to glance from one to another of a few prominent matters. The position of the churches and religious bodies of the country involves questions of such immense magnitude and importance, that, while they cannot be wholly passed over, so neither can they be discussed here. Let it suffice to say, that there has been, though a small, yet, we incline to believe, a real advance in our so-called churches, and a gain for freedom. This, however, will only appear by singling out cases of individuals and small communities. Looking at the great masses, at the leading societies and associations, at the favorite Boards, and Unions, and Conventions, and Assemblies, and these mighty glaciers do not even *seem* to move, — no little trickling rills from *them* betoken that the heart is warming. The Pro-Slavery spirit rules in them as despotically as ever. In proof of this, let the case of the Rev. Doctor Nehemiah Adams, of Essex Street Church, in this city, be considered. Somewhere about a year ago, he published his "South-Side View of Slavery," — that is, Slavery seen with the eyes and in the spirit of a Slaveholder, of course; a just and proper title of the book, and leading to no deception; so much, at least, it is due to Dr. Adams, to say. What happens to Dr. Adams hereupon? He becomes tenfold the man, *in the estimation of the Northern Church*, or of those who control and manage it, that he ever was before. The American Tract Society, the vassal of Slavery, hasten to make him one of their Examining Committee — submitting their publications to his censorship and expurgation! New England Orthodoxy, at its annual gathering, in this city, in May last, selects him before all elder, wiser, humbler, better men, to lead their devotions, and supplicate the God of heaven in their behalf! The American Board of Foreign Missions, the great and powerful, the pet association of American *evangelical* religion, selects him to preach its annual sermon, and awards him thus its highest approbation; and no word of rebuke breaks the silence of the churches! These honors, and many minor ones, coming thick and fast in one short year upon Dr. Adams, connect themselves, of necessity, with his Pro-Slavery servility, his spiteful war upon the Anti-Slavery movement, (the great foe of a false and Christless Church,) and were obviously meant to be his reward! They cannot elevate *him*. They can and do bring shame and fearful guilt upon those who made such haste to be his sponsors. In the face of such evidence, we cannot say that the American Church has taken one single step, as yet, to free itself from its guilty connection with, and responsibility for, Slavery.

Shall we summon another witness? The task is unwelcome and disgusting. Rev. Dr. Nathan Lord, of Dartmouth College, again comes before the community with a thick pamphlet in defence and justification of Slavery; and this time, with more brazen face and positive assertion than before. And still he holds his place as the President of one of the oldest colleges in New England.

Do not these facts amply sustain what the Abolitionists have said of the churches, viz., that they are the strongholds and bulwarks of Satan's kingdom in this land? — what, indeed, the more candid of their own members and ministers admit, that, but for them, Slavery could not live a single year? Who so untrue to God and his own soul as to remain in such a position, in such an alliance? May a spirit of true repentance come to the churches!

We have time to turn but for a single moment, and reach forth our hands to those in foreign lands — in our own fatherland, England, Scotland, Ireland — in France and in Germany, — who are so patiently and generously working with us, and doing so much to animate and strengthen us. Even at their distant post, it is no small cross which many of them take up in wearing the name of Abolitionist, and in working year by year in behalf of our cause. We give them our right hand, with our warmest greeting, and our most heartfelt thanks. May we all endure unto the end!

Nor do we need to mention the name of our brother-in-arms, our faithful fellow-soldier for near twenty years of this great battle for freedom, PARKER PILLSBURY, now in England, in order to assure him of our remembrance and of our best wishes. Enfeebled in health as he has been, he has done a work in Great Britain of the most effective kind, and, we have reason to believe, in the most acceptable manner. He needs not to be assured of a most hearty welcome, whenever he shall again set foot upon our shores.

Since the last Annual Meeting of this Society, the cause of humanity and freedom — the great common cause of free and true hearts the world over — has lost a faithful, devoted, and most intelligent friend, by the death of JOHN BISHOP ESTLIN, of Bristol, England. Many societies, and very many individuals, have borne their testimony to his worth, and not a few have erected a memorial of him in their hearts, which shall live till the heart ceases to throb; nay, whose record shall remain, and teach those who come after us, and take up the weapons of this warfare when our death-stricken hands have dropped them. No man was ever more justly described than Mr. ESTLIN has been by those beautiful words — "I was eyes to the blind, and the cause that I knew not (that cause from which the proud and the respectable turn away, the cause of the poor and the oppressed) I searched out." At the age of nearly sixty, and after an uncommonly useful and laborious life, and with every reason of a prudent and usual kind for resigning himself to rest and quiet for the remainder of his days, he providentially became acquainted with the movement in this country against Slavery. It was not in his heart or conscience to turn a deaf ear to the imploring cry of human suffering and wrong. He "searched out" the matter. He took nothing for granted; nothing on mere hearsay evidence. He thoroughly acquainted himself with the cause; and when he had done it, he thoroughly identified himself with its friends. To the end of his life, he stood with them, worked with them, and gave his best counsels, his best efforts, and warmest prayers for the success of the cause. To the last hour of his life, every emotion and thought of his did truly utter itself for freedom. Thus he made his old age beautiful, full of wise instruction, rich in encouragement. Seldom can

our cause lose a truer friend; yet, only in a very narrow sense *lost;* for to have *had* such a friend is itself a great and unfading treasure. With thanks to God for his life, for his memory, for his fellowship, may we be encouraged by them all to a more diligent and entire consecration of ourselves to the holy cause of Human Freedom!

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,

General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

PROCEEDINGS.

Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, 1856.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held at Williams Hall, in Boston, on Thursday and Friday, January 24th and 25th.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Francis Jackson, at 10 1-2 o'clock.

The President stated that the Committee of Arrangements had prepared a list of Committees, &c., which, at their request, he would read to the Society, for their approval, amendment, or rejection: —

Committee on Business — Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria Weston Chapman, J. B. Swasey, Charles C. Burleigh, Andrew T. Foss, Stephen S. Foster, Wm. Wells Brown, Abby Kelley Foster.

Assistant Secretaries — Samuel May, Jr., Boston; Joseph A. Howland, Worcester.

Committee on Finance — Lewis Ford, Charles B. McIntire, Elbridge Sprague, Briggs Arnold, Cornelius Wellington, Sallie Holley, Darius M. Allen.

Committee to Nominate Officers for the Ensuing Year — Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Charles L. Remond, Salem; William Ashby, Newburyport; Alvan Howes, Barnstable; Charles F. Hovey, Boston; John Bailey, Lynn; Alvan Ward, Ashburnham; Moses Smith, Holden; Henry W. Carter, Athol; Mehitable Haskell, Gloucester; Ansel H. Harlow, Boston; Joseph Merrill, Danversport; Samuel Barrett, Concord.

The foregoing were unanimously accepted, and chosen officers of the annual meeting.

Opportunity for prayer, vocal or silent, was then given.

Samuel Philbrick, Treasurer of the Society, presented his Annual Report. It showed a total amount of receipts into the treasury, during the year, of $9,621.57. Disbursements, $9,252.30. Balance in treasury, 1st January, $369.27. The Report was accompanied by the certificate of the Auditor, Edmund Jackson, that the account is correct and properly vouched.

Wendell Phillips suggested a change in the manner of acknowledging the receipt of the money refunded by the Boston and Worcester Railroad, which was adopted by the Treasurer.

Voted, unanimously, That the Treasurer's Report be accepted and printed.

Samuel May, Jr., the General Agent of the Society, read his Annual Statement of Operations during the year past.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Committee on Business, reported the three following resolutions: —

1. *Resolved*, That as, in apostolic times, it was necessary that judgment should "begin at the house of God"; so, the work of repentance for the sin of slavery must begin on our own soil, at our own doors, in our own breasts, and, until Massachusetts be a free State in principle and action, it is not for her to reproach or rebuke any Southern State for holding slaves, or for seeking to perpetuate her slave system.

2. *Resolved*, That to be opposed to slavery in the abstract, and at the same time to support it in practice, is to confess with the lips that worship is to be paid only to the living God, while bowing down to an idol; and is indicative of a very low moral condition.

3. *Resolved*, That if slavery be "the sum of all villainies," then its supporters and abettors are to be more boldly arraigned, and more severely condemned, than if they were giving their aid and countenance to any other wrong or outrage; and, instead of qualifying our impeachment or softening our reproof of slaveholders and their apologists, we are morally bound all the more to "cry aloud, and spare not."

STEPHEN S. FOSTER took the platform, and remarked upon the general state of the cause and of our movement in particular. He stated his belief, based on his own experience and observation, that our numbers had diminished, and we were weaker in strength than ten years ago; and assigned as a reason, that although people were in the main convinced of the truth of our principles, yet they deemed them impracticable. The people must vote; they are unwilling to adopt practically a principle that forbids their voting. We have called on the people to leave their pro-slavery churches and pro-slavery parties, but have provided no church for them to go into, no political organization for them to act with; and those whom we had heretofore converted have returned to political action again, and in some cases, to fellowship their old religious associations again.

To meet this difficulty, Mr. FOSTER proposed the organization of disunion churches and a disunion political party, in which to take up the sympathies of the people, already tending in the right direction, and turn them to practical account. The people will vote, they must vote; then we must provide ways for them to vote without sacrifice of principle, and thereby make their action as effective as possible. And although he, as a non-resistant, could not become a voter, still he could direct others how to act in harmony with their own principles, and yet directly to the benefit of the anti-slavery cause.

Mr. GARRISON followed, in review of Mr. FOSTER's positions, that our distinctive movement was making no progress. He thought that our cause never stood better than to-day; that it progressed regularly and rapidly, and he could not but be hopeful, especially in view of the fact, that for two months the proud waves of the Slave Power had beat in vain upon the *Banks* of Massachusetts. We have at last an opportunity of beholding a temporary bar put in the way of the triumphant march of the Slave Power. This indicates progress, and gives ground for hope and encouragement. And then, as to our disunion platform, when we first broached the principle, it was almost treason to speak of it — the idea would on no account be tolerated; but now it is everywhere discussed, and that, too, with safety and con-

sideration. Our work is, to convert and change the public sentiment, and that, too, not so much by making individual converts, as by educating and bringing up the public, step by step. Our business is to influence and direct, rather than to organize churches or political parties. And with this view, he thought we were doing much, very much. Everything indicates progress and encourages hope.

S. S. Foster again took the floor, in a more full exposition of what he deemed the necessary work for abolitionists now to be engaged in.

Richard Clap, of Dorchester, hoped that due credit would be given to the Free Soil or Republican party, while for himself he expressed his full faith in, and adherence to, the great principle of "No Union with Slaveholders."

Various notices were given, and the Society adjourned to quarter to 3 o'clock.

Afternoon. The President in the chair.

Mr. Garrison, from the Committee on Business, reported the following additional resolutions: —

4. *Resolved*, That the statements commonly made by the clergy, (to excuse the slaveholding of the South, or their own inaction in regard to it, or both,) that "slavery is a great Providential arrangement" — that "the hand of God is in it" — that "God, in his providence, sent the Africans to this country that they might receive the light of the Gospel," &c. &c., are not only entirely unavailing as a defence, either of themselves or others, but are really more irreverent to God than that thoughtless cursing and swearing of vulgar persons which they invariably and justly reprove.

5. *Resolved*, That there can be no greater delusion than the belief that *the Gospel* is preached at the South, either to slaves or slaveholders.

6. *Resolved*, That one lesson which we may appropriately draw from the long continuance of slavery is to mark the corruption of that Church which, North as well as South, is its chief bulwark; and to notice whether the perversions of reason, fact and Scripture which the clergy use in its support, be not also used to mislead their readers in their professional capacity.

7. *Resolved*, That the prominent indications of sympathy and good fellowship which have been bestowed upon the Rev. Nehemiah Adams, by the representatives of the popular religion, since the publication of his "South-Side View of Slavery, namely —

His being chosen on the Examining Committee of the American Tract Society — and to preach the Annual Sermon before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions — and to preside, on anniversary week, at the opening of the Union prayer-meeting in Winter Street Church — and to preach the sermon at an installation at Providence, R. I. — and to dedicate, by prayer, the new rooms of the Mercantile Library Association, in Boston — show the corrupt state of that popular religion, and the urgent necessity of teaching, instead of it, a pure and genuine Christianity.

Rev. James Freeman Clarke addressed the meeting in a speech of great point and eloquence. He contrasted the ease of anti-slavery profession at the North with the difficulty of sustaining anti-slavery principles at the South. The lack of real, abiding, conscientious principle, even among Massachusetts men, who, though loud-mouthed abolitionists here, were too often the strongest slaveholders when their business called them South, was pointed out.

He defended the Personal Liberty Bill of our last Legislature, and showed that those who denounced that as treason were themselves the real traitors.

In showing the thankless task of reformers, he illustrated his remarks by the story of some Englishmen who found an emaciated Hindoo left to die on the banks of the sacred Ganges, whom they revived and brought to life only to receive his daily curses for restoring him, and keeping him out of his Hindoo heaven.

He said we often heard of idolatry, of people who worshipped wood and stone. People here condemn that, while they worship and idolize other things, the Constitution and Union, as though no other could be formed so good. People here worship men. In all the shop windows, all the banks and insurance offices, glares at you, with heavy brow, sunken cheek, and gloomy expression, the image of DANIEL WEBSTER, the idol worshipped in Boston. Mr. C. closed with an appeal to all to stand fast, although few or almost alone. God was with the right.

Mr. GARRISON said that this was the meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; that *our* work was in Massachusetts, and was two-fold, religious and political — to make men consistent and honest in all their relations. Now, people violate their own principles to sustain their church and party.

Our work is personal, because slavery incarnates itself in persons, and we must deal with the system in its manifestation through the individual. We rebuked DANIEL WEBSTER through his life, and it was wise and philosophical to do so. And now it may be our duty to devote our energies to making Boston too hot to hold NEHEMIAH ADAMS, to break down Essex Street Church. Our work is with the church members of Massachusetts. All churches which have a discipline, and hold their members to a professed Christian standard, and are still pro-slavery, should be forsaken by all true abolitionists. This point Mr. GARRISON enforced at length by illustrations, drawn from the practice of the churches in their discipline.

He then showed the inconsistency of professed abolitionists taking the oath to the Constitution of the United States, which pledges them to the protection and defence of slavery. This point was elucidated and illustrated with great clearness and force; and the absurdity of those who profess a belief in the anti-slavery character of the Constitution acting in harmony with a pro-slavery government was also very distinctly shown. And then the jesuitism of those who, professing disunion principles, are seduced by some side issue to cast their votes for that special object, was held up to view.

Mr. GARRISON, in reply to S. S. FOSTER, gave his theory of the duty of abolitionists as to the manner of bringing Massachusetts out of its governmental connection with slavery.

S. S. FOSTER then followed at length in review of Mr. GARRISON, and in favor of a new political organization.

J. B. INNIS replied to Mr. FOSTER in defence of the Free Soil party and its platform.

The Society adopted the following resolution: —

Resolved, That in order to defray the expenses of this Annual Meeting, the members of the Society and friends of the cause present be requested to contribute each the sum of one dollar, or such other sum, whether more or less, as they may be able, to the Finance Committee.

The Finance Committee proceeded to the discharge of their duty, in accordance with the Resolution.

Mr. FOSTER asked Mr. GARRISON *how* he would proceed in the work of getting out of this Union; — what steps should be taken in the matter.

Mr. GARRISON replied, cease to support the Union and the Government, cease to vote under it, cease to swear allegiance to it, and do all you can to excite for it the moral abhorrence it deserves. Then, when the popular mind is ready, they will summon a Convention to form a new Government. And when it meets, said Mr. G., I hope to be there, and do all I can to form a new and a good government; and if they put *sin* into it, then I will be off, and call again for disunion.

Mr. FOSTER enlarged upon the necessity of laying before the people some definite method of action. He repudiated as worthless all present methods. He regarded the Republican party, and all their members, CHARLES SUMNER included, as in league with the slaveholders against the slaves, pledged by the Constitution to keep the compromises with slavery.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH replied to Mr. FOSTER. He objected to Mr. FOSTER's position that the Republican party was the greatest hindrance to the overthrow of slavery. He also dissented from Mr. FOSTER's position that slavery is weakened by its acquisition of new territory, and its spreading its victims over a wider surface.

Adjourned to 7 o'clock.

EVENING. EDMUND QUINCY, a Vice President in the Chair.

A quartette club of young volunteers sang the "Rock of Liberty."

J. B. SWASEY, Esq., of Newburyport, opened the discussion of the evening session by saying that he too had felt the discouragement expressed by Mr. FOSTER, while he looked only to direct results; but as he had faith in God, in the success and triumph of truth and great principles, he could but believe that the old Saxon spirit, the spirit of the Puritans, would in the result triumph successfully over the dark power of slavery in this land.

He then went on to review Mr. FOSTER's positions in reference to political action, illustrating in part, by reference to JESUS CHRIST, who, he said, never attempted to make a platform, or organization, or even a plan, but addressed himself to, and sought to instruct and elevate, the individual conscience.

He illustrated the progress of the cause by his own experience. A few months ago, he was entirely at variance with this platform; but being called, in order to qualify himself for the office of Justice of the Peace, to take an oath to support the Constitutions of Massachusetts and of the United States, he set himself about a careful study of those documents, and soon came to the conclusion that, as an honest man and true friend of freedom, he could do no such thing.

Wendell Phillips was greeted, as he came to the platform, by the cheers of the audience. He said that many of Mr. Foster's positions were right; but his feeling of hopelessness because no more converts were made was a short-sighted one. Our duty was not to make disunionists, neither was our success to be estimated by the numbers of our men; but we were to be the leaven that should leaven the whole lump.

As to a disunion party, he felt with Mr. Foster that that was to be the course, but the time was not yet. We have not sufficient material of which to construct such a party, and it would be a waste of our strength to stop now to organize a party in order to be counted. Our party is yet too small to be counted, and should we try, some side issue would draw them off, so that we could not count them at all.

But we were making advances, for Mr. Banks, though not an Abolitionist, is to-day the block that stops the wheels of government, so that even Caleb Cushing, with his hands full of money and his heart full of lies, could not buy up his necessary ten men, that he has heretofore boasted he could always buy. It is an indication of progress that Charles Sumner, a young democratic lawyer, with no party friends or great fame, now fills the seat of Daniel Webster; and that the seat of Edward Everett, the pet scholar of Boston, is now filled by the "Natick Cobbler," — one who has earned his seat there by nobler services than nine-tenths of those who sit about him. That is progress.

Another objection to a political organization is, that it must be too broad. He should want to put in an elective judiciary, &c., and there would be too many elements to put into the crucible to make a distinct political issue upon.

Mr. Phillips continued, in one of his happiest efforts, in a strain of great beauty and eloquence, that could be equalled only by himself, and to which no mere sketch could do justice; closing with the remark that the disunion party would, as a result, a necessity, crest up on the rising wave of time.

Mr. Garrison said that he knew of nothing by which to test anti-slavery but the slave, and he started in that cause resolved to know nothing but the slave. He did not then expect to leave his political party, his religious denomination, or the government; but he was bound to stand by the slave, and let everything that stood in the way, that was pro-slavery, go by the board. Our position must necessarily be an isolated one. We could not attract noisy, excited, spasmodic meetings, as the politicians do, but we must keep straight forward, unswerving, and our work is always before us. If we would concede something to the Church, for instance, that slaveholding can, under some circumstances, be right, or that a slaveholder can possibly be a Christian, or make any other concession, however small, we should have our character given back to us, and should afterwards stand well with the public. But no, we must make no concession, but stand on our own ground, if we stand alone.

He was sorry to differ from any friends of the cause — was glad to think as well as he could of the Republicans, but must, nevertheless, criticise them. Their Personal Liberty Bill, in this State, acknowledges the right of the slaveholder to reclaim his human "property," but he must prove his

claim to a jury. He objected to them on their own single paltry issue of Free Soil; they treated the question of freedom in the Territories in the same manner as they did the question of banking, or anything else, meaning to carry their point by vote, or, if overcome, to submit. And if they should keep Kansas out, because of a slave Constitution, the people of the Territory could try a free Constitution, and then, being voted in, they could alter it to a slave Constitution, for the Republicans acknowledge the right of a sovereign State to settle the question of freedom or slavery for itself. Their opposition to slavery is technical, and not real.

Mr. GARRISON then went on to criticise the various other positions and avowals of the Republicans and their advocates; summing up with objecting to their love of the Union, which he feared would induce them to let the slave slide, to save the Union. He then discussed the disunion question in his own able and masterly manner. A running discussion ensued on Free Soil positions, &c., which continued half an hour, and was closed by S. S. FOSTER.

The Quartette Club sang a song, and the Society adjourned to Friday morning, 10 o'clock.

FRIDAY.

The Society re-assembled at Williams Hall, the President, FRANCIS JACKSON, in the chair.

The resolutions before the Society were read by the Secretary.

Mr. GARRISON read a paragraph from a Mobile (Alabama) paper, showing the alarm with which the advance of anti-slavery at the North strikes Southern minds.

ANDREW T. FOSS said that he agreed with Mr. FOSTER, and Mr. PHILLIPS, that we should at this meeting discuss practical measures, rather than fundamental principles. He did not quite agree with Mr. FOSTER, that our principles had been accepted by the community; he felt that our principles had but little practical effect upon community. The church and the government deny that slavery is a crime, and the people act accordingly. They need our true principles preached continually; they have not yet received the full benefit and influence of them. Mr. Foss very strikingly illustrated these positions.

Mr. Foss accounted for the smallness of our numbers, and the apparent want of interest in our cause, and commented on Mr. FOSTER's proposed remedies with a humorous sarcasm that kept the audience in a pleasant mood, while the success of the criticism seemed to carry conviction to all.

S. S. FOSTER took the platform in further exposition of his propositions, and in condemnation of the Free Soil party and of the countenance and support which our platform gives to that party, in acknowledging that it is doing an anti-slavery work of any kind, and that its success is an indication of anti-slavery progress. At the request of Mr. GARRISON, he gave more in detail his views of the organization of a new political party. He closed by

saying, that he felt with Mr. PHILLIPS, that our work was the elevation of the public sentiment, the education of the people. There all our strength lies, and all our work.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH said he thought that Mr. FOSTER misapprehended the position of the Free Soil party, and also our relation to that party. Friend FOSTER's positions would necessarily carry the idea that the *slave-holding power* was the greatest *anti-slavery* instrumentality in the country, which he could not believe or admit. Mr. BURLEIGH then went on, with his unrivalled power of reasoning, to review Mr. FOSTER's argument, and to exhibit his own views of the theory, philosophy and efficacy of our movement.

J. B. SWASEY briefly reviewed Mr. FOSTER's positions, saying that he thought there was some truth in what Mr. F. had said, but he felt that it was exaggerated by him. He especially thought that Mr. F. had stated much too strongly the readiness of people to join the new party he proposes. The men to join such a party, Mr. SWASEY thought, do not exist. In regard to numbers, we should be just where we now are; the new party would be made up of the old Disunionists, and no others.

Adjourned at 1 o'clock, to meet at 2 1-4.

AFTERNOON. FRANCIS JACKSON in the Chair.

Mr. FOWLER, of Cambridge, opened the discussions of the afternoon session with a speech in which he showed that all reforms were progressive, and should never expect to lay a permanent platform or an abiding Constitution; for the very next step onward led off and away from it. The Constitution of yesterday would become too narrow for to-day. He went on to show therefrom that the church constitution and the political constitution, framed in the past, must of necessity be too pro-slavery and narrow for to-day. He adverted to his own experience. He had been silenced as a preacher, because he desired to be true to God and humanity, rather than faithful to the creed or constitution of the church; while his classmates, who declared that they would preach the creed because it would pay, were allowed to remain in good standing.

MR. GARRISON, from the Committee on Business, reported the following resolutions:—

8. *Resolved*, That if the Legislature of Massachusetts, at its present session, shall repeal or essentially modify the Personal Liberty Bill, (except to make it unlawful to seize any man as a Slave on our soil,) at the insolent dictation of the Slave Power, or the more intolerable selfishness and cowardice of Governor GARDNER, it will be an act of such abject abasement and treachery to the cause of Freedom as shall consign to lasting infamy every Senator and every Representative voting for it.

9. *Resolved, nevertheless*, That to put any man on trial before any commissioner or jury, in this Commonwealth, or anywhere on the earth, to determine the issue whether he is the property of another man, is an enormity to be scouted in every community, whether civilized or savage; that, in so far as such a trial is recognized and provided for by the Personal Liberty Bill of Massachusetts, that Bill (however it may conflict with the Fugitive

Slave Law of 1850,) is deplorably defective; and, therefore, as Massachusetts can go no further under the present national compact, and in order to put a perpetual end to Slave-catching on her soil, she is morally bound, by the highest considerations of justice and humanity, to secede from the Union in which she cannot protect the Fugitive Slave, except by perfidy or rebellion.

10. *Resolved*, That we welcome this annual occasion once more unitedly to express, what individually we ever so warmly cherish, our deep and grateful sense of obligation to the friends of our cause in every city and town in the British Empire from whence their sympathy and aid have so constantly been extended to us; and among their numerous ranks, it befits this occasion especially to name our honored friends, the WEBBS, the ALLENS, and the HAUGHTONS, of Dublin; the PATONS and the NICHOLS, of Glasgow; with all who so essentially aided our earlier struggle by the voice of GEORGE THOMPSON; the WIGHAMS, of Edinburgh; the ARMISTEADS and LUPTONS, of Leeds; the name of ESTLIN, with the ARMSTRONGS, the TRIBES, and the CARPENTERS, of Bristol; the STEINTHALS, the CHAPMANS, and the MICHELS, of the West of England; the STURGES, the REIDS, and the MASSIES, of London. And whether this aid, for which we so cordially thank them, has reached us in the form of testimony against Slavery, generous friendship and hospitality towards ourselves and our representatives as the advocates of Freedom, or pecuniary help in carrying on our cause, we desire most emphatically to assure them of its great efficacy in regenerating public opinion, (the spring of all action in the United States,) and in furnishing our own hearts with the strongest additional motive never to be found wanting to the sacred duty in which we are so nobly seconded.

11. *Resolved*, That, since the briefest historical retrospect of the last quarter of a century would be imperfect without an expression of feeling, in view of one great and holy life which the world has there seen so unreservedly and strenuously devoted to the welfare of mankind; and since that whole noble life, now approaching the term that gives freedom to speak the whole truth concerning it, has a peculiar claim on *our* hearts, we feel privileged by our cause to express to HARRIET MARTINEAU, while yet there is time, our deep, affectionate, and reverential gratitude for the benefit of her labors, the honor of her friendship, and the sublime joy of her example.

Rev. C. E. HODGES, of Watertown, said that, in his search for truth, he had felt the utter lack of trust in truth that pervaded the whole community. He had looked among politicians in vain — there was no truth among them; to the church — there was no faith there; and in the whole community, there were but few who had any faith or trust in truth. In the Anti-Slavery movement, he had found more faith in truth and righteousness than anywhere else — more real faith and hope; and here he had found that steadfastness of purpose and principle that he found nowhere else. It was, therefore, with sorrow and discouragement that he had heard the remarks made by Mr. FOSTER, of a desponding character. This, he thought, indicated an undue impatience. We must wait patiently, and with trust and hope.

Mr. GARRISON then read from the *Daily Journal* a notice of our yesterday's meeting, and commented on the readiness of that paper to report any discouraging or desponding remark, while it omitted to report those remarks of all the other speakers, which were filled with the spirit of hope and joy at our clear and undeniable progress.

He then proceeded to speak of the various stages of progress through which every truth-loving mind must needs go. We may be in a false position to-day, honestly and sincerely, and be entirely praiseworthy for our

sincerity and truthfulness. But our next step onward would put us in a truer and better position — and so on. Let us, therefore, give honor to those who are truthfully, honestly seeking truth and right, even though they may not be in a true and right position. Mr. G. then went on to show at length the impropriety and evil of political organization and action on our part.

J. B. Innis, of Salem, made a few remarks in defence of the Anti-Slavery character of the United States Constitution.

Edmund Quincy, in behalf of the Nominating Committee, reported a list of Officers of the Society for the ensuing year. [See *List of Officers*, p. 47.]

The report of the Committee was unanimously accepted, and the persons therein named duly elected officers for the current year.

Mr. Quincy, in making his report, also read the following letter: —

New York, January 18, 1856.

Francis Jackson, Esq., President of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, Boston.

Dear Sir, — Having taken up my residence in this city, it becomes my duty to resign my office as one of the "Board of Managers" of your Society. Thanking the friends for the honor so long conferred upon me, offering you and our associates my best wishes for the success of our common cause, and assuring you and them of my hearty coöperation in all just measures to bring Slavery to a perpetual end,

I am, my dear Sir, ever

Yours faithfully,

C. BRAMHALL.

Voted, That the thanks of this Society be given to Cornelius Bramhall, Esq., for his long and faithful services as an Officer of this Society.

Voted, That the Corresponding Secretary communicate the vote of thanks to Mr. Bramhall.

Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

Evening. Edmund Quincy in the chair.

The Quartette Club again sang the "Rock of Freedom."

The Society was then addressed by J. B. Swasey, Stephen S. Foster, William Wells Brown, and Miss Frances E. Watkins, a young colored woman, of Baltimore, free born, yet a sufferer from the cruel prejudices of ignorant and narrow-minded white persons, addressed the meeting in a simple but touching manner. Her brief remarks were very warmly applauded.

Mr. Garrison reported the following resolutions: —

12. *Resolved*, That this Society would take the opportunity of its annual meeting, to record its tribute of sincere respect for the memory of the late John Bishop Estlin, whose death at Bristol, England, in June last, has deprived the Anti-Slavery cause, the world over, of the presence of a most intelligent and generous friend, whose counsels were full of wisdom, whose labors were constant and untiring, and whose heart always warmed to the great principles of freedom and humanity which this Society maintains. Grateful for his friendship, his fellowship, and invaluable aid, deeply respecting his lofty and disinterested character, and with sincere sympathy for her,

who, of his family, alone survives him, and who so largely shares his spirit, we shall cherish his memory as one of the rich treasures which the cause of freedom has bestowed upon us.

13. *Resolved*, That in the recent demise of our venerated friend and unswerving coadjutor, WILLIAM H. ASHURST, Esq., of London, the cause of emancipation, in America, and the cause of liberty throughout the world, have met with a great bereavement; for his hospitable home was ever open alike to the advocates of the American Slave and the noble refugees from the despotism of Europe; and with his pen and purse, he was never weary in giving his brave testimony and his efficient aid to every movement on British soil for the freedom and elevation of the suffering classes, and to every struggle in other lands to liberate the victims of an overshadowing despotism.

14. *Resolved*, That we again give the right hand of brotherly regard to our clear-sighted and fearless friend and fellow-worker, PARKER PILLSBURY, now in England; that we rejoice in his labors and in his success, in the many friendships he has made for our cause and not less for himself, and in the faithful testimonies he has borne against every kind of pro-slavery, and against the lukewarmness and apathy of many of the professed friends of the slave. Fully convinced of the radical and thorough work he has done in Great Britain in behalf of genuine anti-slavery, we heartily bid him God-speed; and whenever improved health shall warrant his return to our shores, we pledge him our heartiest welcome.

15. *Resolved*, That a Constitution which provides for a Slave representation and a Slave oligarchy in Congress — which legalizes Slave-hunting and Slave-catching on every inch of American soil — and which pledges the military and naval power of the country to keep four millions of chattel Slaves in their chains — is to be trodden under foot, and pronounced accursed, however unexceptionable or valuable may be some of its provisions.

16. *Resolved*, That the one great issue before the country is, THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION — in comparison with which all other issues with the Slave Power are as dust in the balance; therefore, we will give ourselves to the work of annulling this "covenant with death," as essential to our own innocency, and the speedy and everlasting overthrow of the Slave system.

17. *Resolved*, That in the invitation extended, by a professedly Anti-Slavery committee, to that brazen and shameless advocate of man-stealing, Senator ROBERT TOOMBS, of Georgia, to come to Boston to defend the nefarious practices of the South, after his insulting boast that he would yet marshal his Slaves around the base of Bunker Hill Monument, and defy Massachusetts to liberate one of them; and in his reputable appearance, last evening, in the Tremont Temple, boldly to do his worst against the sacred rights of man, and to defend "the sum of all villainies," the world is presented with the climax of effrontery, on the one hand, and of gratuitous folly on the other; and it clearly indicates how low is the moral condition of the metropolis of the Commonwealth respecting the most revolting system of oppression known in the annals of time.

WENDELL PHILLIPS then addressed the meeting.

[N. B. As a full report of this speech, and others made this evening, was taken in short-hand, and has appeared elsewhere, no further sketch is here attempted.]

The resolutions before the Society were unanimously adopted.

The following resolution, offered by WENDELL PHILLIPS, from the Business Committee, was also unanimously adopted: —

18. *Resolved*, That this Society rejoices in the abolition of the separate colored schools, in the City of Boston, as the triumph of law and justice over

the pride of caste and wealth; and recognizes in it the marked advance of the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the State.

☞ The amount received by the Finance Committee at this Annual Meeting, with that taken at the door for entrance at evening meetings, was $380.00. Amount pledged and payable during the year, $867.75.

Adjourned, *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, } *Secretaries of the Meeting.*

ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society have issued the following Tracts, for gratuitous distribution.

No. 1. *The United States Constitution Examined.*
" 2. *White Slavery in the United States.*
" 3. *Colonization.* By Rev. O. B. Frothingham.
" 4. *Does Slavery Christianize the Negro?* By Rev. T. W. Higginson.
" 5. *The Inter-State Slave Trade.* By John G. Palfrey.
" 6. *The "Ruin" of Jamaica.* By Richard Hildreth.
" 7. *Revolution the only Remedy for Slavery.*
" 8. *To Mothers in the Free States.* By Mrs. E. L. Follen.
" 9. *Influence of Slavery upon the White Population.* By a Lady.
" 10. *Slavery and the North.* By Charles C. Burleigh.
" 11. *Disunion our Wisdom and our Duty.* By Rev. Charles E. Hodges.
" 12. *Anti-Slavery Hymns and Songs.* By Mrs. E. L. Follen.
" 13. *The Two Altars; or, Two Pictures in One.* By Mrs. Harriet B. Stowe.
" 14. *"How can I Help to Abolish Slavery?" or, Counsels to the Newly Converted.* By Maria W. Chapman.
" 15. *What have we, as Individuals, to do with Slavery?* By Susan C. Cabot.
" 16. *The American Tract Society, and its Policy of Suppression and Silence.* Being the Unanimous Remonstrance of the Fourth Congregational Society, Hartford, Conn.
" 17. *The God of the Bible against Slavery.* By Rev. Charles Beecher.

☞ Applications for the above Tracts, for gratuitous distribution, should be made to Samuel May, Jr., 21 Cornhill, Boston; to the Anti-Slavery Offices, 138 Nassau Street, New York, and 31 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia; to Joel McMillan, Salem, Columbiana County, Ohio; or to Jacob Walton, Jr., Adrian, Michigan.

☞ All donations for the Tract Fund, or for the circulation of any particular Tract of the above series, should be sent to Francis Jackson, Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

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BOOKBINDING
Grantville, Pa
March April 1989